





**CIVISM**  
**OR**  
**THEORY OF THE CITY**  
(Society without money)

2003-2019



For Humanity, the Revolution is done.  
For the People, it is up to us to do it.

TIMEO HOMINEM UNIUS LIBRI.  
I fear the man of one book.

**PHILIPPE LANDEUX**

Translated from French by Thomas Curelea

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## FOREWORD

This book is a complement to the *Réquisitoire contre Largent* (indictment against Mony), although it is designed in such a way that a reader who hasn't read this first part doesn't feel that he or she has missed anything.

The introduction takes up the main theses of the *Réquisitoire* on Largent, Equality and the Principles of the social order. (The reading of the *Réquisitoire* remains necessary, however, for anyone who embraces Civism insofar as it develops all the concepts and addresses, albeit in a theoretical or philosophical manner, questions that aren't addressed in this book. The same reflection could be made about the *Theory of Property*, the publication of which is not yet on the agenda.) Unless you want to refresh your memory, a reader who has read the *Réquisitoire* can therefore quickly fly over a good part of the introduction. Nevertheless, the last few pages contain important reflections on how Civism conceives the Revolution, the role of revolutionaries and patriotism. On the other hand, a reader who hasn't read the *Réquisitoire* must read the introduction carefully. For it is not enough to know what the Revolution consists in to be a good revolutionary and especially a good proselyte ; it is also necessary to know why Civism condemns the current system and on what it bases the City. In addition, although the reasons for all the measures recommended are recalled as much as possible, it is good that the reader should know and always bear in mind the overall idea that Civism is a product of the City, its origin and its purpose, so that he/she may be able to understand the reasons and have a sense of their respective extent. This book then consists of two parts and a conclusion, not to mention a Manifesto in the appendix. All the chapters follow one another. Each of them sets out concepts and indicates measures whose knowledge is necessary for a full understanding of the measures set out in the following

chapters. For example, whoever is unaware of how laws are formed in the City, how the City is organized from a political point of view (Part II, Chapter 1), will have a false idea of what the term « by law » refers to and, consequently, will have a biased perception of the following measures as they haven't mastered their context yet. A first reading must, therefore, be linear. However, it is possible to speed up the first contact by reading directly the boxes which, at the end of each chapter, summarize each of them in the form of numbered articles.

Finally, this book is a manual for revolutionaries ; it outlines, step by step, what they must adopt and institute to build the City in concrete terms.

The first part, however, still seems to be theoretical. It deals with the fundamental texts, the means of exchange and the distinction between Citizenship and Nationality. These points are the keys to the City. Their practical interest may not be obvious ; they may not allow us to guess how the City works, but it cannot work without precision at their level. The *Social Contract* and the *Declaration of Duties and Human Rights, the Citizen and the City* are theoretical texts, but they're not studies : they are the very texts that the City will adopt and which will inspire the Constitution. They, therefore, play a significant role in the concrete implementation of the City. As for the means of exchange and the distinction between Citizenship and Nationality, once again their concrete effects may not be obvious, but it is obvious that they have many.

The second part's the one that most directly meets the readers' expectations : political organization, company organization, unemployment, retirement, international trade, access to housing and land in general.

The conclusion summarizes all the subjects covered, brings them together and highlights their revolutionary side. It also deals with subjects that could have constituted a third or even a fourth part but that it seemed preferable to deal with succinctly in order not to make the book heavier and above all not draw attention away from the essential points. Moreover, it is less a question of measures to be taken than of effects to be observed.

# **INTRODUCTION**

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## INTRODUCTION

Citizens must be equal in Duties and Rights. It's on this condition that people truly constitute a political association and that a Society is worthy of the name. Equality is, therefore, the fundamental Principle of the City. This Principle is not new. The ancient Greeks professed it ; all modern « democracies » proclaim it. However, no one has yet drawn all the theoretical and concrete conclusions that flow from this. This is what Civism intends to do.

Whether Equality has ever reigned or not, that doesn't matter ! It must be. This is the premise of Civism. It is, therefore, less a question of demonstrating why Citizens must be equal (in terms of Duties and Rights) than of explaining how they can be equal. Some preliminary explanations are nevertheless necessary because it's only by knowing what Equality is, why Citizens must be equal and why they aren't today that the mystery of inequality is unraveled and the solution appears. These explanations will be the subject of this introduction.

Before briefly explaining the « philosophical » foundations of Civism, let us clarify what the term Civism covers here ? In the ordinary sense, civility means dedication to the common good. Civism, of course, incorporates this definition. But it extends it by giving Rights, Duties, Citizenship, the City, and anything involving a social dimension, precise meanings, meanings that have no consistency except in Equality and that it's, therefore, difficult, if not impossible, to conceive in the inequality that is our current lot. In a word, Civism is a conception of Society or the City, i. e. a Society in the true sense of the word, a Society truly based on Equality. It is articulated, not around a vague egalitarian aspiration, but around a way to establish Equality. This way is the hallmark of Civism ; it results from a socio-economic philosophy that in

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turn allows it to be anchored in reality. This way and this philosophy are therefore indivisible.

Thus, Civism refers to a goal to be achieved, explains why and indicates how. In doing so, it provides a compass for those who share its ambition : by revealing the location of the port, it shows them the course to follow, the positions to adopt and the actions to take at all times.

All Societies, human or animal, have the same purpose and, therefore, the same Fundamental Principles. The supreme desire of every living being is to stay alive as long as possible. Some hope to survive on their own ; others believe that they can only do so by joining forces with a few of their peers. So, animals are divided into two categories : solitary, who live in what is called the *state of Nature*, and sociable, who live or tend to live in what is called the *state of Society*.

Life provides each being with independence, an absolute autonomy which, at first sight, leads him to survive by his means, to live in the *state of Nature*. But in this state where everyone is left to his own devices, where no one is accountable to anyone, where the strongest always triumphs (the strength being temporary), the danger is permanent. To discard it as far as possible, increase their chances of survival and increase their life expectancy, some, as we've said, associate themselves with other individuals of their species and form a Society.

It should be noted, however, that the various Societies are always in a state of Nature with each other, in other words, in a balance of power. That individuals incorporate themselves into a Society and proscribe the law of the strongest can only be enforced within their City. They are therefore always in a balance of power with everything around them. They know that. And it's precisely because they know that the law of the strongest cannot be universally outlawed and that strength only gives way to greater strength, that they seek to be strong and that, to this end, instead of tearing each other apart, they combine their strengths to generate a collective force capable of sustaining power relations with more success than they'd have in isolation (1). Society is, therefore, a force, a force that

(1) Herds of herbivores and most schooling fish are special cases in that the safety of their members is not increased by collective force but only or

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is initially defensive and potentially offensive. Its members are certainly not invulnerable, but are undoubtedly safer than if they were scattered in the wild, because they no longer have to fear their neighbors, who have become their fellow Citizens, and instead enjoy their protection, which makes it more difficult to surprise them and more risky to attack them.

The self-preservation instinct : such is the origin of the Society, of any Society. Security : such is its primary goal. The question now is therefore what does this origin and purpose imply in terms of social relations ?

A Society whose purpose is to ensure the safety of its members is only worthy of the name (Society) when it performs its task when the individuals who compose it are indeed safer within it than outside it. This remains true regardless of the number of Citizens. Also, to fully understand the relationships that the act of association induces between Citizens, it's enough to study the simplest Society, a Society that would theoretically be composed of only two Citizens, each of them then embodying the City for the other one (2).

In order for the Security of two naturally independent individuals to increase within an association, each partner must renounce harming the other and instead undertake to assist him in all circumstances (at least as far as possible), to defend him if necessary as if he was himself concerned by the danger from which the other is threatened. In a word, the Security of everyone, within the Society, is the result of the Duty of assistance or solidarity that Citizens have towards each other (or towards each other when there are more than two Citizens). Four things are therefore obvious : 1) Citizens have the same Duties towards each other ; 2) Being equal in Duties, Citizens mutually guarantee the same Rights, in this case, Security ; 3) There are no Rights, fruits of Duties, except

essentially by the number of individuals that statistically reduces the risk of each one being victimized by predators.

(2) When a Society is composed of two individuals, each is for the other all its fellow Citizens. Whether this set of Citizens is virtual or real, whether a Citizen is associated with another individual who represents the City for him, or with a multitude of Citizens referred to by the abstract term of City, this doesn't alter the relationships that must exist between a Citizen and his fellow Citizens, between a Citizen and the City.

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in Society ; 4) Equality of Citizens in Duties and Rights is the fundamental Principle of the social order, of the City. To be fully aware of this last point, let us imagine that instead of being equal, Citizens are unequal in Duties and Rights. If there are only two Citizens, inequality implies that one doesn't have the same Duties towards the other and supposes that the one who has the least Duties has inversely more Rights, because it's to enjoy more Rights that one would make the other bear more Duties. But if the Duty consists in defending the other, and the Right, in being more secure with the other than alone, it's impossible for the association to be constituted on an unequal basis. Why would one share all the dangers of the other, in addition to his own, without the other coming to his aid if necessary ? The former would have no interest in accepting this state of affairs, worse for him than that of Nature ; the latter would quickly find himself in the state of Nature if he let his only fellow citizen perish. Even the stronger of the two, therefore, has an interest in fulfilling towards the other the Duties that the latter has towards him and that he only has if there is reciprocity, therefore equality in Duties and consequently in Rights.

However, in practice, things are more or less complex depending on the species.

For example, in sociable herbivores, Duties are reduced to their simplest expression. The Safety of Citizens depends only on the size of the herd (3), the risk of being prey decreases as the number of Citizens increases, so the duty of each is to remain with others. The one who moves away, the one who no longer fulfills his duty, draws all the attention of predators to himself and loses the benefits of group life and the security it provides.

On the other hand, among sociable carnivores, Duties and Rights are more extensive. Until now, we have only considered Security as the Right to be protected by the group, as far as its powers can reach, against external dangers. But by Security, we must also mean that Society must ensure the existence of its members to the best of its ability, in other words, ensure

(3) It is indeed rare that herbivores, even in herds, face predators, even though their collective power is infinitely greater than that of the latter.



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their food without which there's no life or Right (4). However, unlike herbivores, which only have to lower their heads or stretch their necks to find their food, which means that there isn't much required of them to be fulfilled, carnivores often get the meat they need by hunting in groups. Each Citizen therefore not only has the duty to alert the group of the dangers he detects or suspects, to defend his fellow Citizens if necessary, to participate like them in the hunt, but also to allow others to feed on the common victims. It's obvious that a Citizen who, although fulfilling his Duties, would be deprived of food or the Right to eat by his Society would be in danger of death and would no longer have any interest in being part of it.

But it's especially in certain insects (bees, ants, etc.) that things are the most complex, from the origin of the Society to its composition and organization. It's harder to grasp the particular interest that individuals may have in being part of these Societies than to understand the interest that the Society itself finds in being numerous. Security is still the leitmotiv. However, these Societies must first and foremost protect their queen, the only guarantor of the species' perpetuation, and its eggs. To do this, they build very elaborate shelters that are constantly under construction. At the same time, they must ensure their defense and food. In theory, Citizens could take turns performing each of the tasks. In practice, everyone specializes (5). More precisely, the physical characteristics of Citizens (their species or even their race (6) determine their

(4) It should be noted that living is not a right in itself. A Society must guarantee its members security, within its means, but it doesn't give them life any more than it must ensure their eternity.

(5) The distribution of tasks exists in all Animal Societies, generally between males and females, but it is in insects that it is pushed the furthest, until specialization, that is, until individuals accomplish not a set of tasks, but a specific task.

(6) Here we're talking indistinctly about animals and humans who are also animals, evolved, but animals nonetheless. However, we're talking about « race ». This concept is accepted for animals ; it is valid for humans.

The living world is divided into two kinds : fauna, animals, and flora, plants. Each of these two broad categories is subdivided into species or families, which are subdivided into so-called racial subcategories in animals, which are further subdivided into subgroups called ethnic groups or peoples in humans (The term race is used instead of ethnic group when it comes to distinguishing between an ethnic group and its peers. The term people is also used in the

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sense of nation, which is originally constituted by individuals of the same race but allows, as a political concept, to integrate individuals of different races.) Representatives of a species, whether of the same or different race or ethnicity, can reproduce ; they're interbreeding. When they are of different races, they produce what are called bastards in ordinary animals or, in humans, half-breeds or mixed-bloods. (The term bastards applied to humans refers to illegitimate children.) Repeated reproduction between bastards or half-breeds from the same kind of crossbreeding may result in a new race or ethnic group. This is the case of dog breeds, all of which are descended from wolves and have been created by man through selection. It also happens that such a mixture can lead to sterile individuals, such as the mule.

Today, the trend is towards denial, intellectual terrorism and numerous shades of politically correct thinking. There would be no races in humans, so it seems, because all humans have as many genes, no more, no less. However, this doesn't mean that there are no races, but simply that they are part of the same species. To claim that humans are not genetically distinct and that, therefore, there are no races is a sham. The physical and morphological characteristics of an individual are defined by his genes, and all individuals, except identical twins, have a different and unique genetic code (hence the usefulness of DNA tests to identify them). It follows that individuals who have a set of common and particular physical and morphological characteristics that allow groups to be observed and races and ethnic groups sharing the corresponding genetic nuances to be distinguished. The genetic difference between races may be very small, even smaller between ethnic groups, but it necessarily exists, otherwise the various populations of the world wouldn't have characteristics of their own, hereditary and obvious to anyone in good faith ; otherwise these characteristics (coupled, for social reasons, with cultural characteristics) that indicate the geographical origin of individuals would have appeared spontaneously all over the globe without the people who carry them traveling. Moreover, assuming that there are no races from a scientific point of view, shapes and colors do exist, so that humans, like animals of the same species, can always be classified according to a set of typical features, the classes thus obtained being what is traditionally called *races* or *ethnic groups*, regardless of the words.

Now, how did the races come into being ? Why do some have dark skin, curly hair, strong nose and lips, others yellowish skin, black hair, snub nose, slanted eyes, others light skin, straight or wavy hair, straight nose, and so on ? Why does each race have such marked features that they make it possible to recognize at a glance to which an individual (except half-breeds) belongs and especially to which he doesn't belong ? Why these obvious differences if all humans come from the same cradle ? Evolutionary explanations are very unsatisfactory on this subject. Understandably, people living under a blazing sun have tanned skin. But why should the level of tanning, which varies according to race while the sun shines for all, be part of the genes ? As for the type of hair, the shape of the nose, lips, eyes, not to mention the morphology in general, it's difficult to see how the climate could prescribe this or that, even in the long term. Would Humanity have had several cradles - something unlikely since humans are indeed the same species ? The answer doesn't matter. Only the fact that, nowadays, the geographical origin of individuals or

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their more or less distant ancestors can be read on their faces and that this explains and justifies the division of humans into races.

Races, therefore, do exist, from whatever angle one approaches the question (common sense or science), and it's not being racist to recognize it. It's all the more dishonest to call this certainty and those who express it racist because it's associated with the accusation of racism, which has the same root but not the same meaning. A *racist*, in the original sense, is one who finds that the human species is composed of different races but doesn't deny the quality of human beings to individuals of a race other than his own. The very term *racist* appeared when the existence of races began to be challenged in the name of science. Until then, it had seemed pointless to invent a word to designate those who accepted this universally accepted evidence. It was as useless as calling phasists those who - until an enlightened scientist contests it, triggers a controversy, sows doubt in people's minds and converts a few morons - admit that a day is composed of two major phases : day and night, not to mention the intermediate phases of dawn and dusk. Racism, on the other hand, consists in (wanting) to bully, to persecute individuals of a race in the name of belonging to a race claiming to be superior (in a moral, cultural, physical, technological or other field), which implies a hierarchy of races. Of course, the proponents of racism are called racist. Thus, the term racist has two very different meanings : it's redundant and insipid in its original sense, and it is rightly negative when it implies adherence to the pretentious or even criminal doctrine that is racism. However, the word *racist* is only used in this second extreme sense, synonymous with *Nazi*. It's therefore deeply unfair and insulting to call a person a *racist*, only to be able to accuse him/her of racism, someone who simply admits the existence of races, this accusation being based on an infamous mystification.

Nowadays, anti-racism is only the pretext for a vengeful policy, a strategy aimed at destroying the West through unbridled immigration that has become a taboo. It denies indigenous people the right to consider themselves as their own, let alone to be masters (as if ownership depended on the existence or not of races ! as if the negation of races abolished nations !), in the face of ever more numerous, daring and provocative immigrants whose presence doesn't raise any question of legitimacy. While indigenous people are less and less tolerant of these immigrants because of what they do, not because of what they are, which is not racism at all, professional anti-racists and their emulators systematically defend immigrants no matter what they do, because of what they are, which is racism in itself. In other words, the latter always brings the origin of immigrants to the forefront so that they can tax their accusers of racism, discredit them, ruin their lives, discourage amateurs and thus grant all licenses to immigrants and remove any obstacles to immigration. Accusing enemies of your crimes is a tactic as old as time ! But why this tactic, if not precisely that the immigrants in question are of different races, which all the anti-racist arguments postulate.

For if there are no races, racism has no real basis and racists - whatever the meaning of the term - are enlightened people who must be treated not for persecution but visual disorders. Antiracism implies the existence of racism and, therefore, the existence of races, without which both are stupidity in their

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pure state. Denying the existence of races to fight racism, attack it at its root and create a semantic void, is more than useless : it is an aberration.

If there are no races, there is no racial discrimination or possible racial profiling, these accusations are ridiculous, those who make them are prodigies and those who claim to be victims - implicitly claiming to belong to a race - fabulous. So there are two things : either these offenses do not exist any more than races and cannot be recognized, let alone punished, or races exist and there is nothing racist about it, racism is found in gratuitous discriminatory acts as well as in the systematic use of the accusation of racial discrimination.

If there are no races, all national and international laws and articles condemning racism must be suspended to protect *people of all races*.

If there are no races, there is no reason to talk about *multiple* or *diverse* France, as anti-racists do when thinking about immigrants from outside Europe - something that no one had thought about facing European immigration. The latter, caught in the act, claim that they refer to cultural (linked to geographical origins, therefore to races) or social diversity. So why did they launch the expression of France « *black-blanc-beur* » (black-white-Arabic) about the national football team in 1998 ? We can measure their good faith when they prohibit, in the name of racism, to see that this same team is *black-black* in 2008. In the same spirit, to who does the politically correct expression *visible minority* refer to ? In other words, anti-racism consists in making racist periphrases and denouncing those who speak frankly without being racist. If there are no races, there can be no racial mixing, which implies a crossing between individuals of different races. To speak of mixing is therefore to recognize the existence of races. To deny it against all evidence is to force ridiculous intellectual contortions to escape the theatrical wrath of the ayatollahs of political correctness and the patented anti-racists, self-appointed apostles of unilateral tolerance.

If there are no races, then what do the authorized expressions of *European type*, *African type*, *Asian type*, etc. mean ? Do all European-type individuals live in Europe ? Are all the inhabitants of Europe today of the European type ? No. Otherwise, saying the Europeans would be enough. The same is true for all these expressions, which mean nothing in themselves if they don't imply that individuals are respectively *white*, *black*, *yellow*, etc. This is but a trick. The words, necessary to communicate, can change, but this doesn't change the reality of the things that are required of people who need to name them. Race is not a dirty word, just a word, no matter what the anti-racists may say, who've made it a game of « *Simon says* » to justify their bad faith and hypocrisy.

If there are no races, the slavery of Blacks by Arabs and Europeans is not historical truth, but a view of the mind, a racist interpretation of the facts ; people have simply enslaved other people, chosen for no reason. Blacks, who do not exist, will probably be delighted to hear about it.

These few examples - we could also have mentioned genocides (from Greek, *geno* : race), ethnic wars, colonization, apartheid, etc. - show that anti-racists who deny the existence of races and throw away the accusation of racism practice it in a devious and despicable way all day long. They forbid others to affirm what all the notions they spend their time putting forward confirm. Everyone openly or implicitly admits the existence of races. But

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professional anti-racists, although racist in the original sense, and generally racist towards whites, make racism their business. They need racists, even if it means making them from scratch. By outlawing truth and common sense, they're certain that those they've not succeeded in lobotomizing will sooner or later, rightly or through exasperation, commit a (so-called) language gap or an unfortunate (legitimate) act and that they'll therefore never lack grain to grind. Thus anti-racists are the main carriers of what they call racism, which is generally only a legitimate reaction to the abuses they encourage or cover up with their sophisms.

To put an end to this issue of race and racism, let us address the burning controversy we have left aside so far : are there *pure races* ?

A race is observed at a time T ; it's pure by definition, since only those individuals who meet its criteria, individuals of different races and mixed races are considered to be part of it, and mestizo are irrelevant. All races are therefore pure and perpetuate themselves as much as their members reproduce among themselves since procreation between individuals of the same race never generates individuals of a different race. (Europeans don't generate Asians any more than Africans generate Europeans or American Indians.) However, there's nothing to prevent individuals of one race from having mixed-race among their ancestors, insofar as the characteristics of occasional crossbreeding fade after a few generations. Thus, races are pure or perceived as such when they have incorporated into their purity criteria traits inherited from repeated, distant and forgotten crossbreeding. The same applies to ethnic groups, although they're already very close physically, and are more prone to crossbreeding, which makes the notion of ethnic purity more precise, more evolutionary and more ephemeral. For the races that initially occupied a well-defined continent or territory had little opportunity and desire to mix, but the ethnic groups, neighboring each other, frequently interacted and mixed - if only for war or political reasons (alliance marriage, kidnapping of women) - so that many of them merged into one and each race has only a handful of them.

Nothing is disgusting or incomprehensible about this. The controversy stems from the confusion between the notion of *pure race* and that of pure race nation, advocated by the Nazis. The nation is a political concept. This includes mixed race and naturalized foreigners. (Today, the conditions of naturalization in France do not guarantee the adherence of individuals to the national community and therefore threaten national unity, hence the mistrust of the French towards naturalized immigrants, hence the debate on national identity, launched long after the writing of this book.) To want to return to a pure race nation would be a negation of the concept of nation and would lead to the prohibition or even death of mestizos and nationals of foreign origin and race. However, it's impossible to deny that any nation is originally the project of a People belonging to a race (In France, the modern nation dates back to 1789, a time when all French people were white, except for a few blacks and mestizos in the overseas territories). It follows that, without being obsessed with the race of individuals, a nation cannot ignore it completely. Being *White* or being a *country with a white majority* is part of the French identity, as well as the identity of all European countries. (The link between nationality and race is even closer or even exclusive in countries other than

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those of the New World, namely Africa, the East, and Asia.) This observation is necessary on the one hand because it's the truth, and on the other hand because European countries, and France more than any other, are prey to massive and problematic non-European immigration that should be met with an appropriate response, which immigrationists of all kinds (politicians, employers, media, leftists, anti-racists, immigrants) are against in the name of anti-racism.

The Nazis defiled the word race without invalidating the notion, contrary to what the immigrationists would have us believe without believing it themselves. Because the goals of the latter are so sordid and criminal, for those who think about it, that public opinion, to be fooled, must perceive their detractors as potential criminals without thinking. Yet nothing inspires more horror than the Nazis. Since reasonable and realistic management of immigration involves taking into account the origin and race of immigrants (which isn't in any way to advocate a *pure-race nation*), and since it's also difficult to openly oppose reason, immigrationists have found a way to avoid any substantive debate by denying the existence of races, allowing them to suggest that their critics, who recognize them without ambiguity, are racists, like the Nazis. To raise the ghost of Nazism that's what immigrationists are reduced to, who, to mask their vocation, present themselves as *anti-racists*. But the dishonesty of this process is so obvious that further diversions are necessary.

The first imperative is to accredit the non-existence of races. « Science » provides the argumentative that consists all in all in saying and repeating that *there are no races from a scientific point of view*. A statement as convincing as « *Seen on TV* » ! But to properly mud the waters, nothing beats vibrating the emotional fiber, constantly talking about the odyssey of immigrants, their confinement into dilapidated cities (by them), their cultural isolation (lack of assimilation, since everything is done to ensure that they do not assimilate, that's called *integration*), their failure at school, their exploitation, the misery of prostitutes, undocumented migrants, deportees (assimilated to Jews deported by the *Nazis*), the lack of housing, all this without ever reminding us that this situation is the result of massive unmanageable non-European immigration and immigrationists who prevent, even prohibit the management of it. Finally, to complete the disorientation of public opinion, the guilty parties become accusers. France and the French, victims of immigration, are drowned into an eternal guilt trip. The first is called upon to repent of the crusades, slavery, colonization, Vichy, the Algerian war, everything, and anything. The important thing is that she is on the defensive and that her word is, therefore, less credible. Foreigners and intriguers who have no moral lesson to give try to make people believe that its supposedly overwhelming past (Which country can claim to have such a long and glorious past ?) prevents it from being in control of its present and that immigration is a fair return of things, that it is not only inevitable but necessary. A beautiful piece of nonsense ! Anarchic immigration isn't inevitable, but the result of a lax, if not deliberate, policy. As for the French who've not succumbed to media hype and don't engage in demagoguery, each of their positions, however legitimate, is the pretext for a typical insult which, by abusive association of ideas, amounts to calling them *Nazis* without using this overly excessive term.

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Thus they are called, in turn, *reactionaries*, *protectionists*, *populists*, *sovereignists*, *nationalists*, *racists*, *fascists* and all kinds of insults in « phobic » : *homophobic*, *xenophobic*, *Islamophobic*. This is the lot of the French who love their country and want to preserve it when it's visibly invaded and disfigured (in contrast, the individualists who betray France and persist in its ruin, who deny its People and dream of destroying it, who hatefully oppose democracy in the name of human rights and make all nations miserable for the love of humanity proclaim themselves without shame *humanists*, *progressive*, *democrats*, *ecologists*, *world citizens*).

As expected, these discussions obscure the easy questions of the existence and purity of races. But the goal of immigrationists isn't to get bogged down in the insipid polemics they trigger. All they are trying to do is legitimize the pseudo virtuous posture they adopt among the weak-minded, to make humanity, generosity, indignation and media lynching their monopoly and to equip themselves with a panel of imposing insults. Their detractors cannot say a word without being slandered over and over again. The author of these lines won't escape their revenge. But he'll do his duty to the end, and right now.

If we bear in mind that the purpose of racial denial and anti-racism is to promote immigration, who are the anti-racists, the immigrationists ? They are of several kinds. Their motivations are different, but their efforts tend to the same result : the destruction of France. The big bosses are immigrationists to have a cheaper immigrant workforce and to reduce the salaries of the French by this unfair competition. The so-called moderate political right, an instrument of the big bosses, publicly plagues against immigration but does nothing concretely to contain it (Sarkozy's trumpets are not worth Jericho's.). The so-called moderate political left was immigrationist out of naivety, as opposed to the « nationalists » and today by calculation : having disappointed many French people with its laxity and soothing speeches, it relies on immigrants to bail out its electorate and is ready to concede everything to them, to excuse them, to admire everything in their country. It was by another miscalculation that this left gave the impetus to anti-racism. By assuring immigrants and their descendants of great tolerance if not impunity, it sought to weaken the « moderate » right by pushing into the arms of the « far-right » the French (supposedly right-wing) outraged by so much license, and believed that others, frightened by the rise in power of what it described as a fascist threat (Mr. Jospin acknowledged the ridiculousness of this assertion), would take refuge in its own. But its combinations, by holding it hostage to immigration, have made it neglect the interests of the modest French and lose all patriotic sentiment - to the point that it no longer dares to sing the Marseillaise or fly a French flag. When it talks about the People, it means immigrants in the cities. When it calls for the construction of social housing, it fails to specify, as everyone knows, that immigrants are *de facto* given priority. It's also demanding these constructions because there is a lack of housing in France, which doesn't prevent it from continuing to encourage immigration. When it pretends to be interested in the French, it forgets that immigration represents a huge cost for the State, which is passed on to salaries via taxes on companies and to purchasing power via taxes on products. As for security and delinquency problems, mainly related to immigration (just look at the prison population), they're openly caught in their trap. In the end, even immigrants

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specialization : breeders, nannies, workers, scouts, warriors, etc. In return for their dedication to Society, whatever form it takes, each Citizen must be protected, fed and housed. The diversity of Duties, therefore, doesn't alter the equality of Rights.

The example of insects makes it easier than any other to understand that, in general, whatever the species, Citizens have the fundamental duty to participate in the life or activities of their City and the Right to enjoy its benefits in return, i. e. to enjoy the Rights generated by the devotion of everyone and that the City is able to guarantee.

But let us be clear : the Society must only guarantee its Citizens the Rights that the Duties they fulfill are supposed to generate (for themselves or others). Thus, depending on the species, sociable animals have at most four Rights, all directly or indirectly linked to the notion of Security, namely, from the most common to the rarest : not to be killed by their fellow

have reasons to complain about it and to deny it their votes. For their part, leftists, demagogues by nature, citizens of the world, enemies of every kind, of every country, especially their own, have understood that mass immigration is a scourge for France, an outrage for the French, and praise its imaginary benefits all the more. They claim to be anti-capitalist and objectively play into the hands of the biggest capitalists. They hold on people (the workforce) the discourse that they hold on commodities and capital (« Let it happen, let it through »). Far from fighting each other, they complement each other. All are individualistic and stateless. It's less surprising to find among immigrationists and anti-racists many immigrants or individuals with « an immigrant background » (usually black or « Arab »). As foolish as it may be, they want all their fellow citizens to have the chance that they or their parents have had to immigrate to France, which the French cannot consent to, hence the need to persuade them that they have no voice in the matter and that those who dare speak out are racists. In other words, the French wouldn't have the right to be heard in their own country, but foreigners and French who recently acquired the nationality, considering the problems from a foreign point of view, would be able to be judges and parties there ! They're so little French in their hearts and minds that they're exclusively in solidarity with their peers, even those whose delinquent, criminal or provocative conduct rightly irritates the French and shameful assimilated immigrants and respectable foreigners who aren't given a voice any more than the French. Finally, the mass of immigrationists is made up of fools (the famous *useful idiots*) manipulated by the precedents who don't understand the ins and outs of institutional anti-racism and don't see the dangers of massive and uncontrolled immigration for France, the French and the immigrants themselves. From Munich to Montoire !



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Citizens (7), to be defended by them if necessary, to eat (when the food is the fruit of a collective activity, hunting or harvesting) and to live in the common shelter (when built by the Society). As long as the Citizens of the same Society effectively enjoy all the Rights that it must guarantee equally to each one since each one fulfills his Duties, they are equal in Rights. From this point of view, Animal Societies are undoubtedly egalitarian, because animals, knowing instinctively their Duties, always fulfill them, thus guaranteeing each other the Rights that flow from them.

Some will argue, however, that there's no Equality in animals because of the systematic existence of dominant animals, enjoying prerogatives such as eating first, enjoying females all by themselves, etc. But in what way do these prerogatives, which are obtained by force and are in no way Rights, deprive other Citizens of the Rights due to them and destroy Equality between them ? It doesn't matter to the Society who eats a particular piece, who satisfies his sexual desires, who walks first, etc. This only concerns individuals who, without failing in their Duties, must preserve such prerogatives. The Society doesn't have to satisfy the pride of individuals ; it must only satisfy their basic needs, those which are at the origin of political association, Duties and Rights of the Citizen (8).

Humans, projecting their own experience onto the animal kingdom, confuse the dominated/dominant ratio with the oppressed/oppressor ratio, which in turn effectively implies inequality in rights (9). This confusion exists because, in an unequal context, the range of rights increases as individuals'

(7) Do not mistake fellow Citizens with individuals of the same species but not part of the same Society.

(8) The purpose of a so-called *political* association is to conserve its members. This goal defines in itself the Rights and above all the Duties of the Citizen, therefore of all Citizens.

(9) We write Rights with a capital « r » when we designate Rights in the full sense of the term, those enjoyed by equal Citizens living in a true state of Rights. We write rights with a lower-case « r » when we designate non-fundamental rights or what, in inequality, is called a state of non-rights. In short, capitalization distinguishes between what is legitimate, according to the Principles of the social order, and what is simply legal.

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social rank rises, their power increases, so that hierarchy and inequality seem to go hand in hand. But social hierarchy and inequality in rights have nothing to do with it. But social hierarchy and inequality in rights have nothing to do with it. If inequality doesn't go without hierarchy, the hierarchy that results from the specialization of Citizens, i. e. their function, doesn't in itself generate inequality, which is only possible if rights are depersonalized, materialized and cumulative. Equality and hierarchy are thus not incompatible. On the contrary, without hierarchy, the social body soon falls into anarchy and is doomed to destruction or tyranny, no longer being organized enough to build or strong enough to resist its external or internal enemies.

Another important thing to note : children aren't Citizens. A Citizen participates in the life of the City ; he's as much in a position to fulfill his Duties as to enjoy his Rights or to exercise them. The little ones, on the other hand, don't fulfill their Duties towards the City ; they're at best at its charge. Not being Citizens, not being part of the City, they have in principle no Rights. This explains why, in some sociable species, the young, immediately weaned, are abandoned, until, capable of fulfilling the Duties of a Citizen, they join a group. Now, not all animals abandon their young, but the latter don't have the status of adults in the group. They only seem to have rights because adults feel a duty to them. Let us, therefore, remember that children don't have rights in the true sense of the word and that the rights that may be recognized and guaranteed to them are in no way the Rights of the Citizen.

While the case of the little ones is confusing and conceals the principle, that of the sick, wounded and elderly is unambiguous. Animal societies abandon them to their fate. There are two reasons for this. The first is that both are no longer able to fulfill their duties as Citizens and are theoretically no longer part of the City. More than useless, they are a danger to the group because, not to mention the potentially contagious diseases they can suffer from, they slow down its progress and attract predators. The second is that ordinary social animals, even if they have a Duty of solidarity towards each other, don't have the means to help them and cannot be required to do so. The link between the sick,

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wounded or elderly, on the one hand, and the Society, on the other, is therefore broken at both ends.

Thus, among animals, the young are not yet Citizens ; the sick, wounded and old are no longer. However, there's a fundamental difference between the two. Never, in any Society, will small children be considered as Citizens (10), even if they are called to become so in time. On the other hand, the sick, wounded and elderly have been deprived of their Citizenship only because of the inability of Animal Societies to rescue or care for them. It could, therefore, be otherwise if Society and the Citizens had the means to help them. For then, Citizens who always have the Duties to defend each other and to be in solidarity with each other would be obliged to fulfill them towards those who, precisely, need them most, those towards whom these Duties make the most sense.

This is the reason why people, whose abilities are disproportionate to those of ordinary animals, have, individually and collectively, in almost all cases, the duty to help the wounded, to take care of the sick and the elderly. In other words, the extent of the Citizens' Duties, and therefore that of their Rights, varies according to the capacities of the species, according to those of the Society, and, for the same Society, according to the period. Let us be clear : the capacities of a species and a Society don't create new Duties as they increase, but they broaden their range of application. The Principles of the social order, the Duties, and Rights of Citizens are therefore no different whether they are animal Societies or human Societies, humans being first and foremost animals, regardless of their pride. But those who have forgotten and perverted the Principles are in no position to consider unfair or cruel the attitude of ordinary animals, who instinctively know

(10) It is understood that only individuals who are fully-fledged Citizens are Citizens. To claim that children are Citizens even though, because of their young age, they obviously don't have to fulfill certain Duties and obviously cannot enjoy certain Rights would, in fact, amount to applying the concept we've put forward while denouncing it when it's expressed in unambiguous terms, but having destroyed the notion of Citizenship and undermined the Principles of the social order. It cannot be argued, on the one hand, that Citizens must be equal in Duties and Rights, and on the other hand, that individuals who don't fulfill the Duties and don't enjoy the Rights of the Citizen, in this case, young people, are nevertheless Citizens.

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them and apply them literally to the wounded, sick and elderly. There's justice only in compliance with the Principles, and complying with them is a Duty as long as it is possible or doesn't constitute a danger to oneself. So it's just as right to help someone when you can as it is to abandon them when you have to.

One more thing needs to be stressed about people. We have so far implied that they, as Citizens, have a Duty of solidarity only towards their fellow Citizens. According to the Principles, a Citizen has no Duty towards a Society other than his own (in which he also has no Rights) or towards individuals who aren't part of his Society. However, nothing prevents people, intelligent beings, from crossing these borders, overcoming these considerations and demonstrating what characterizes them : humanity. But the voice of humanity must not stifle the voice of the Principles. People must not forget that they're above all Citizens (11), that they have above all Duties towards their fellow Citizens, that there are real Rights only in Society, in Equality between Citizens, and that, where Duties are neglected and Citizens' Rights are violated, there's no justice for anyone. Humanity towards its neighbor is legitimate... as long as it doesn't sacrifice the Citizens and Principles of social order on the altar of so-called universal brotherhood. Moreover, it's up to Society to set the limits since, in the end, it's Society that, on the one hand, because of its sensitivity, can recognize and guarantee rights to foreigners, and on the other hand, authorizes or not its Citizens to act in their favor.

(11) People are not people by nature. Nature makes animals ; the « evolved » human « Society » makes people alone. It's by mimicry that a newborn child becomes a little man and then a man, that he learns to walk, to speak, to think, that he becomes civilized. Without the contact of its advanced fellow humans, examples attest to this, it would forever ignore its potential and remain a quadruped animal, if at all. This is so true that people themselves have only the values, knowledge and beliefs of their « Society ». I think, therefore I am a citizen, the product of a society and an era. An individual may have original thoughts, but it's to the Society that he owes his ability to think, for it provides him with the instruments and materials. It's therefore not as a human being that he thinks, but as a Citizen or at least as a civilized being. It is therefore redundant to say that a human being is a man before being a Citizen since only a civilized being can conceive and support it.

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But let's get back to the ordinary animals. Let us observe that little ones, sick, wounded and old, when they are abandoned, find themselves in the state of Nature, a state that is less advantageous for them, especially since they are then more vulnerable than ever. But would they have all their means, the state of Nature would still be disadvantageous for them compared to that of Society. The proof : Society only welcomes the healthy, and all the healthy are looking for Society. Knowing that living beings act (consciously or unconsciously) only to serve their interests or what they rightly or wrongly consider as such, Society must present a considerable interest for some to flee the state of Nature and renounce what some call *natural freedom*.

What is « natural freedom » ? It would be a state of perfect freedom, a state in which everyone could do what they wanted and enjoy all the Rights. But there are no Rights in the state of Nature since individuals are left to their own devices, without anyone to recognize and guarantee them. Everyone then does what he can, not what he wants, because everyone's possibilities now depend on his strengths and those of his neighbors. The weak can do nothing ; the strong can do anything... as long as he remains the strongest. Moreover, the state of Nature doesn't exempt individuals from the obligations they would have as Duties in a Society. They may be alone, but they must eat, take shelter, dress and defend themselves. Ah ! certainly, they don't have to worry about others (12). But how difficult it is for them to secure their very existence ! But how difficult their very existence is becoming to secure ! In the end, they're far from winning, especially since sociable animals by nature don't have the choice of whether or not to live in Society (or at least among their fellow animals) (13). In reality,

(12) This is not the case. For if individuals in the state of Nature don't have to worry about others, in the sense that they don't have to be in solidarity with them, that they have no accountability to anyone, that nobody owes them anything, they must nevertheless be constantly wary of them, so that instead of worrying about others and taking advantage of them as in the state of Society, others still worry them without benefiting them.

(13) The sociable nature of people is sufficient to retain them or to bring them back among their fellow human beings. Extremely rare are the people who can live as hermits. The natural freedom that presupposes living in such conditions, however, since it implies the annihilation of all rules, the dissolution

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the *natural freedom* presented by some as a panacea is a view of the minds of oppressed « citizens » and « civilized » people who imagine virtues in the state of Nature, a state for which they aren't made, instead of understanding what a decent Society should be and opening up their eyes to the causes of their oppression. Natural freedom is a myth. There's no more natural freedom than there are natural rights. If there's a freedom as a Right, it can only be in Society (14).

Some animals live in Society to increase their safety. This implies two things : 1) that they join the Society of their own free will (provided that it agrees to integrate them), 2) that they can leave it whenever they wish if they so wish. Security would be a meaningless word if individuals became and remained

of « Society », in a word the « return » to Nature and solitary life, is a view of the mind. Especially since the vain desire to flee the « Society » is aroused by oppressive laws that real Societies would proscribe. Those who speak of natural freedom ignore what a Society is, condone the usurpation of that name by systems that are unworthy of it, and perpetuate in their way the oppression they denounce, since, attributing it to what they wrongly take for the Society, they are incapable of conceiving and a fortiori of building a true Society. Salvation isn't in an impossible escape and futile imprecations but in the struggle for Equality.

(14) Although Rousseau is attached to the notions of natural freedom and natural rights, whose inconsistency we have shown, he nevertheless reaches the same conclusions : « *it is so false that in the social contract there's no real renunciation on the part of individuals, that their situation, by the effect of this contract, is really preferable to what it was before, and that instead of alienation, they've made only an advantageous exchange in a way of being uncertain and precarious for a better and more secure one, natural independence for freedom, and their strength that others could overcome against a right that the social union makes invincible.* » (From the Social Contract, Book II, Chap. 4, Boundaries of Sovereign Power) « *What man loses by the social contract is his natural freedom and an unlimited right to everything that tempts him and that he can achieve ; what he gains is civil liberty [i. e. freedom as a right] and the ownership of everything that he owns. In order not to make mistakes in these compensations, it is necessary to distinguish between natural freedom, which is limited only to the forces of the individual, and civil freedom, which is limited by general will [the law], and possession, which is only the effect of the force or right of the first occupant, and property, which can only be based on a positive title.* » (Book I, Chap. 8, Civil State)

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citizens under pressure (15), and the City was a prison or a trap. This would imply that they live under the control of tyrants, in inequality and oppression. Citizens are therefore only safe if they are free, free to leave the City and free when they're part of it.

There's therefore indeed a social Freedom, a consequence or complement to Security. All Rights are by definition freedoms, opportunities to do or have something. All the freedoms of a Citizen constitute his Freedom. However, Citizens must be equal in Rights, and therefore in freedoms. Freedom resides in Equality. It's not enough for individuals to enjoy certain freedoms, which vary according to the individual, for Freedom to prevail ; it's not even enough for all individuals to theoretically enjoy the same freedoms ; it is necessary for all individuals to actually enjoy the same freedoms. Only then are these individuals truly free and equal Citizens. It is then, once again, that the Freedom of Citizens is as broad as possible, without harming anyone, since the particular interest of each person requires that all the Rights he or she will enjoy himself or herself and which, exercised by others, will not affect those he or she already enjoys be recognized by others.

It is, however, necessary to insist on one point : a liberty in a field consists in enjoying all the possibilities that the City, thanks to the Duties that its Citizens fulfill towards it, offers in this field. Thus, the freedom to move, for example, isn't reduced to having the right to exercise one's natural motor faculties but consists in being able to enjoy or access all the means of locomotion existing in the City (horses, stagecoaches, cars, boats, trains, planes, etc.) To walk by your means, to use your feet, you don't need a Society ! In general, the Society has no reason to exist if it doesn't offer more interests to Citizens than the state of Nature or even presents them with more disadvantages.

(15) We've said earlier that sociable animals have no choice as to whether or not to live in Society. Their nature chooses for them. But they can eventually choose their Society. The force of things that pushes sociable animals to live in society must not be confused with the constraint we are talking about here, that is, being forced to comply with the will of others.

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By fulfilling their Duties to Society, by doing everything it expects of them, Citizens earn the Right to enjoy all its benefits. This is what we've already learned from observing the animal kingdom. The same must be true in human Societies, although things seem more complicated at first sight.

Among men and women, Citizens all participate in one way or another in the life of the City ; all benefit directly or indirectly, in a more or less obvious way, from everyone's dedication. However, the participation of some generates goods (consumables or durable) or services. These goods and services, resulting from the Duty to participate in the life of the City, being intended to be placed on the market, aren't the property of their producers, which is obvious concerning services. Producers don't need to own their production since their Rights are guaranteed by Citizenship, not by any ownership (16). The production is in a way the property of the City (all Citizens) before actually becoming the property of Citizens in particular (as customers or consumers) (17).

(16) In a barter system, producers must own their production to trade it. The monetary system as an evolution of barter has kept this pattern which, in essence, today only makes a tiny bit of sense for the owners of companies, the bosses, because most of the workers called *producers* are employees, whatever their level, and don't produce anything individually. A product is the result of a collective effort and cannot be considered by any worker as his property. It's therefore through wages which, supposedly represent the real share of each person in production, that the concept of barter, according to which individuals must have something that they can then exchange for other things, is perpetuated ; it's these same wages which, by providing workers with the essence of their rights, theoretically link rights to the mere fact of working (according to the capitalist conception of labor) and suffocate the Principle according to which all the Rights of a Citizen flow from Citizenship.

(17) Contesting producers the theoretical possession of their production, of a product intended for sale, doesn't challenge the very principle of Property, the right of Citizens to have and enjoy private property. The whole question is what can and cannot be owned by individuals. We're talking here about goods resulting from a production as part of the Duty to Participate in the Life of the City. These goods cannot be destined both for the City, in the interest of the Citizens, and be the property of the producers who are free to use them according to their interests, even if they're not in harmony with those of their fellow Citizens. The City cannot guarantee producers all the Rights of the Citizen against nothing, or even at its expense. Thus, what's called *Labor* doesn't form the basis of the Right of ownership. On the other hand, Citizens who, outside the framework of their Duty, manufacture for themselves things from goods that they already own or whose Property isn't



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In short, all Citizens are in the same situation : on the one hand, they have the Duty to participate in the life of the City, according to its criteria, on the other hand, they have the Right, as Citizens, to enjoy all the benefits of the City, benefits that include goods and services, often vital. But Citizens can only enjoy property, as individuals, if they have unlimited access to it, if they own it. However, once produced, the goods are placed on the market. Citizens must, therefore, have the express right to access the market, a Right that must be conferred on them like all other Rights by the Citizenship itself. In other words, all Citizens must be able to withdraw from the market, as far as possible and in compliance with the law, all the goods and services they desire, all the goods being on the market made available to Citizens by companies and waiting for buyers.

Deprived of the right to access the market, a « Citizen » has no freedom ; all he has left is his natural abilities to drag himself into poverty (18). Unequal in the right to access the market, some being able to acquire almost everything, others having to be satisfied with almost nothing, some having all freedoms, others almost none, « Citizens » are unequal in all rights. There's then no Equality, except for the sophists ; they're not even Citizens. For individuals are fellow Citizens only if they're equal in Rights, and Citizens only are truly equal in Rights if they have an equal Right to access the market, a Right that can only be equal for all Citizens if it's conferred by Citizenship.

contested to them remain owners of their work. But it's then clear that their efforts aren't at the very origin of their Property. It's also possible that manufactured or modified goods may be prohibited by law, in which case the City, which alone guarantees the Rights and can also suspend them, no longer recognizes these goods as property and must confiscate them as soon as their existence comes to its knowledge.

(18) There are very few rights that aren't linked to market access, and these few rights are always secondary. We can, for example, attach great importance to the right to vote, linked for a while to wealth (censal suffrage), linked today to age (which is absurd) and nationality (which doesn't mean much in the current context), but voting is objectively less essential than eating, dressing, housing, etc.

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We must now introduce an essential nuance concerning Duties and Rights.

Any Duty is a compelling obligation to the City. All Rights are a liberty recognized and guaranteed by the City. But using the terms « Duty » or « Right » without further clarification, as we've done so far, as it's always been done, leads to catastrophic confusion. Because there are several levels of Duties and Rights, three to be exact. First, there are fundamental Duties and Rights, then indirect Duties and Rights, and finally special Duties and Rights.

The Citizen's fundamental Duties are to defend the City, to be in solidarity with his fellow Citizens and to participate in the life of the City. Its fundamental Rights are Security and Freedom, which together can be translated into *enjoying the benefits of the City*. These fundamental Duties and Rights, expressed in synthetic terms, certainly evoke practical aspects but don't mean anything by themselves and allow all interpretations. It must, therefore, be understood that these fundamental Duties and Rights are divided into what we call *indirect* Duties and Rights, which are divided into what we call *special* Duties and Rights.

For example, the fundamental Duty of every Citizen to participate in the life of the City can take an infinite number of forms. Each of the possible forms of participation is an indirect Duty. Working is one of them. But not all Workers have the same profession and each, within the framework of his profession, has particular obligations, what we call here special Duties. It's by fulfilling his *special* Duties that a Worker exercises his profession, fulfills his *indirect* Duty to Work and fulfills, like all Workers, like all Citizens, his *fundamental* Duty to participate in the life of the City.

The same applies to Rights. Citizens can only enjoy the fundamental Rights of Security and Freedom through a set of indirect Rights, also known as *freedoms*. It's by enjoying, not just a few, but all the indirect Rights recognized by the City, that a Citizen effectively enjoys fundamental Rights and is equal in Rights to his fellow Citizens. That said, the exercise of certain indirect Rights, while allowing the enjoyment of fundamental Rights, in turn, generate other Rights, special (equally sacred) Rights. When a Citizen has a freedom, when

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he has the right to choose, the City cannot upset him/her and must even ratify his/her choice, under penalty of making this freedom illusory.

The question then arises as to whether the Principle of Equality applies indiscriminately to all Duties and Rights, regardless of their nature or level. The answer is necessarily no.

All Citizens are required to fulfill their Duties. But, as we've seen, a fundamental Duty can be fulfilled in various ways and not all Citizens can fulfill it in the same way. It's therefore by nature impossible for all Citizens, even if they fulfill the same fundamental duty, to have the same indirect or particular Duties. Equality in Duties therefore only makes sense at the level of fundamental Duties. In other words, it's sufficient for the City to observe that Citizens are fulfilling their indirect Duties for it to recognize that they're each fulfilling, in their own way, the same fundamental Duty and therefore deserve the same Rights. To apply the Principle of Equality to indirect Duties, i. e. to require that all Citizens do the same thing so that they can then be considered equal in Duties, would be absurd and criminal : absurd, because such uniformity cannot exist ; criminal, because the recognition of inevitable differences in indirect Duties would serve to introduce or justify inequality in Rights, in other words, oppression.

As for equality in Rights, unlike in Duties, it only makes sense when applied to indirect Rights. It's only by being equal in indirect Rights that Citizens enjoy all and to the same extent fundamental Rights and are effectively equal in Rights. The opposite, i. e. proclaiming that Citizens equal in fundamental Rights are equal in indirect Rights, is not necessarily false but is certainly less mechanical. Because fundamental Rights, which are moreover more Principles than Rights, consist of a set of indirect Rights and, if, indeed, Citizens equal in indirect Rights are also equal in fundamental Rights, « Citizens » declared equal in (fundamental) Rights, without them all enjoying the same indirect Rights, are in fact unequal in all rights (including fundamental). On the other hand, it's impossible for Citizens equal in indirect Rights to have the same special Rights, since the latter result from the exercise of the former. Citizens cannot be both free and equal in indirect

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Rights, exercise these Rights each at their convenience and ultimately have the same special Rights. Freedom imposes this difference (not to be called *inequality*), as uniformity at this level would imply tyranny. Indeed, for Citizens to have absolutely the same special rights, they should all think in the same way, like clones, or be forced to make the same choices or rather deprived of the freedom to choose.

To illustrate our point, let us consider the Right to access the market. It follows from the Fundamental Right for every Citizen to enjoy the benefits of his City. It's, therefore, an indirect Right that all Citizens must enjoy, the most important indirect Right, to such an extent that it could be assimilated to a fundamental Right. In practice, it consists in being able to withdraw goods from the market and enjoy the services offered by the City's businesses. However, Citizens don't withdraw goods from the market for the sole pleasure of exercising their Right of access, but to be able to enjoy or use the said goods. Goods removed from the market by Citizens must, therefore, become property or their property. However, from what we've said above, the Rights that result from the exercise of an indirect Right are special Rights, i. e. specific to each Citizen. Here, the special Right concerns property removed from the market and is called « Property ». Property is therefore neither a fundamental Right, as some have long argued (19), as others still argue, nor even an indirect Right, but a Right of the last degree, a special Right to which the Principle of Equality doesn't apply. Although equal in Rights, although enjoying an equal Right of access to the goods still on the market, Citizens cannot obtain the same things (if not in theory) and consequently have the same properties.

Lastly, a final clarification concerning the limits of a Right.

A Right can be seen as a verb that opens up vast possibilities for action, conferring indefinite and *a priori* unlimited freedom. But all Rights are earned by the fulfillment of a set of Duties. The exercise of Rights is limited upstream

(19) « The purpose of any political association is the preservation of natural and imprescriptible human rights. These rights are freedom, property, security, and resistance to oppression. » Article 2 of the Declaration of the Human and Citizen's Rights, of August 26, 1789.

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by everything that a Citizen must do to obtain or preserve them, and downstream, by everything that he must not do, under penalty of losing them. In other words, the Duties delimit legitimate acts that can only be considered as the exercise of a Right. For example, a Citizen, after having done what he must, is *a priori* free to do what he wants but doesn't have the right to attack or harm his fellow Citizens in the name of Freedom, because he must defend them and to respect their Rights. Thus, all the Duties limit the extent of the Rights. But there are other limits.

All individuals who perform their Duties have the same Rights that they can freely exercise. But the fact that they are free to exercise them limits their exercise in itself because they exercise them each according to their tastes, their desires, their faculties. A Citizen may be free to go where he wants, but he can't go in two directions at the same time. By choosing to go in one direction, he renounces by himself the other directions in which his Right nevertheless allows him to go. Moreover, he can't move in the direction he's chosen faster than he has the means to do it. Now, if all Citizens exercise the same Right at the same time, it's possible that, in some cases, depending on the Right concerned, they may hinder each other, limiting for each of them the extent of this Right, or even suspending it temporarily. Thus, when all motorists take the same road at the same time, they force each other to drive at the same pace. The exercise by others of the same Right is, therefore, another natural limitation to each person's Rights. This limitation is also linked to the reality of things. The wider a road, the more motorists can take it at the same time without having to slow down. Moreover, the right to use a road is itself linked to the existence of that road. Before even having the right to drive on a road, Citizens must, therefore, build it. Finally, it may be that, in the common interest, the City sets limits to certain Rights. The extent of these Rights is then limited by law, equal for all. On the roads, the law manifests itself in ground markings and signposts, with the police being there only to enforce them by punishing offenders.

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In short, a Right is generated by the Citizen or the City (20) and confers a theoretically unlimited freedom although, in practice, its exercise is naturally limited by the Duties that the Citizen has, by his desires and faculties, by the exercise by his fellow Citizens of this same Right, by the nature of things and if necessary by the law.

Thus, the City is a union between fellow human beings governed by the natural laws of political association (21) of which Equality is the fundamental Principle. Its purpose is to ensure that all its members enjoy all the faculties and benefits of their associations, in short, that they enjoy all the Rights that it recognizes and can guarantee. Its members, composing the City and called Citizens, are bound to each other by Duties (dictated by the nature of their association). Every individual, to be and remain a Citizen, must participate in the life of the City, to respect the Rights of his fellow Citizens and to be in solidarity with them. In return, every Citizen has the right to enjoy the benefits resulting from the fulfillment by all Citizens of

(20) A Citizen generates for himself some of his Rights, including special Rights. However, these Rights need the recognition and guarantee of the City to exist as such. On the other hand, the fundamental and indirect Rights he enjoys are generated by his fellow Citizens through the Duties they fulfill towards the City and him. But, having the same Duties towards them, it seems that their Rights are the direct result of their Duties. There's indeed a link between the fulfillment of Duties and the enjoyment of Rights, but, if it's direct at the level of Citizens taken in mass (all Citizens generate all the Rights enjoyed by all Citizens), it's indirect at the level of Citizens as individuals : fulfilling all their Duties towards the City confers Citizenship on the individual, and it's Citizenship that confers all the Rights of the Citizen. Duties of a certain nature do, in a certain way, have their counterpart in Rights, but the Citizen cannot be selective, fulfill some Duties to enjoy only the corresponding Rights. He must fulfill all his Duties to be and remain a Citizen and enjoy all the Rights of the Citizen. Failure to comply with a single Duty compromises Citizenship and jeopardizes all Rights.

(21) The laws of the political association, of the first association whose purpose is to ensure the survival of its members to the best of its ability, are called *natural* in the sense that they're dictated by the very purpose of the association, by its *nature*, and are therefore adopted, even tacitly, by any such association, wherever it may be and whatever the species to which the individuals who constitute it belong. We say natural to signify their logical and universal aspects. But these laws do not exist in nature, between individuals ; they only exist within the framework of Society, between Citizens.

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their Duties towards the City. These benefits are Security and Freedom. However, in a human society, for Citizens, all Citizens, to enjoy these benefits, these fundamental Rights, each of them must have the (indirect) Right to access the market where the essential as well as secondary goods and services, resulting from the participation of Citizens, are virtually gathered and made available to them. This Right of access, conferred by Citizenship, is theoretically unlimited, which means that Citizens have the right, by the very fact of being Citizens, to draw at will on the common product. Moreover, only by being theoretically unlimited (and therefore linked to Citizenship) is this indirect Right, which must be equal for all Citizens, effectively so.

These are the foundations of the City according to Civicism ! These are the fundamental Principles without which the words Society, Citizens, Duties, Rights, Equality, Freedom, Democracy, etc., are meaningless !

But in front of the City, today stands an obstacle : Money. This obstacle is unavoidable, insurmountable, inevitable. There's no alternative but to overthrow it. Why ? Because Money is the source of individualism and inequality. It's therefore fundamentally incompatible with the City Principles. It's to the social body what a poison is to a living body. As long as it's not removed, it will be useless to wonder why our « Societies » are perpetually sick and seem incurable forever.

Undoubtedly the remedy for the ills that plague « Society » is in the very Principles of political association, as we've set them down. But for these Principles to finally be applied, it's necessary to understand why they're not already applied, what prevents them from being applied. In short, we must understand what Money is.

First of all, let us distinguish three notions : *means of exchange*, *currency*, and *Money*. Although these terms are sometimes used indiscriminately, they each have their meaning.

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A means of exchange, as its name suggests, is a means of exchange. In other words, it's a means that allows individuals or Citizens to exchange their productions or their Labor, not directly, i. e. directly between individuals, by bartering, but indirectly, by giving everyone access to the market where all the productions are grouped, so to speak. A means of exchange, in whatever form it takes and whatever the specific characteristics of each of them, is, therefore, a means of market access.

Currency, on the other hand, is a unit of (market) value. This unit makes it possible, on the one hand, to assign a price to things, i. e. to determine their value in terms of the number of monetary units, and on the other hand, to acquire things in exchange for the quantity of units required by the sellers or according to the price fixed with them by mutual agreement (22). However, everything that's for sale constitutes a market - the market being all of the markets - and having monetary units is generally the necessary and sufficient condition to access it and participate in exchanges. Currency is therefore also a means of exchange, the means of exchange of the monetary system.

As for Money, Civism defines it as the *belief that things have a (market) value and must have one for trade to be possible, or, to put it simply, it's the belief that the notion of (market) value is necessary for trade.*

This belief determines a concept of exchange : individualistic or individual-to-individual exchange. It was born from barter, that is, from the primitive and historically inevitable practice of the direct exchange of objects between individuals. It's the fact that objects can only be exchanged otherwise for a certain quantity of other objects which, at the time when people began to produce and exchange (23), led them to establish

(22) A price doesn't determine the intrinsic value of something (value that doesn't exist), but its market value, its value on the market at a time « T ». It's this notion of value as artificial as it is harmful that people believe is essential and fertile.

(23) It's the fact of being exchanged or being intended for exchange that makes a manufactured object a production. There was a time when people did not make anything. As soon as they began to manufacture, it's likely that they also began to exchange. But *making* is still different from *producing* since you can make things without ever exchanging them.



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and conceive (24) equivalences between the objects and the value of each thing (this value then being expressed in quantity of other things). Everything was then a potential object of exchange and could occasionally (in an indirect exchange) serve as a means of exchange (25). There was, therefore, strictly speaking, no means of exchange.

It was only later, with the increase in population, the increase in distances and the evolution of production techniques, that the need for determined and standardized means of exchange became apparent and monetary units appeared to simplify trade. Then, the nature of the currencies evolved. Various objects, various materials, depending on the time and place, served as a support and pretext for value. Today, with virtual units, currency is as immaterial as an idea and merges with the notion of value itself. So it doesn't matter what kind and form the currency takes ! It doesn't even matter if it doesn't have any. Only people's belief in the necessity of the notion of value for exchange, i. e. their belief in Money, on which barter is based as much as the monetary system, is important.

Money must therefore not hide from us the fact that the monetary system is based on the same principles as bartering. There may be differences between these two systems, but since the monetary system is an evolution of barter, and therefore has both advantages and disadvantages, they have a common basis. Neither barter nor currency has any reason to exist without Money. Now Money, being a belief, lives in people's minds and feeds a certain way of thinking about exchanges, a way of thinking that is itself the result of the mode of exchange practiced. It's a vicious circle. Eliminating currency without attacking Money would only lead to a return to barter - if at all possible, as evolution has condemned it - and to the emergence of a new form of currency. The annihilation

(24) Let us note the order of the words : « establish and conceive », not « conceive and establish ». Practice has preceded design.

(25) In this case, a means of exchange is an object that isn't the result of a personal production, that has been obtained through an exchange and that is, in turn, exchanged for something else.

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of Money (26) therefore doesn't consist only in abolishing currency, even if this measure is inevitable ; it can only really be annihilated if the minds are purged of it, and we'll see how.

But why go after Money like that ? We've said it : because, although it's the current essence of the « Society », it's the source of inequality, while Equality is the fundamental Principle of the social order. This is the point that we now need to clarify.

Citizens must be equal in Duties and Rights ; all must participate in the life of the City and enjoy its benefits. Most of these benefits being on the market, all Citizens, to enjoy them, must be able to access them simply by being Citizens. The Right of access to the market being attached to Citizenship is then equal for all Citizens. But this logic is different and opposite to Money's.

Money, i. e. the belief that the notion of (market) value is necessary to exchange, arises from the direct exchange of objects between individuals. Also, any system based on Money inevitably denies the protagonists of exchanges the status of Citizens, since it sees them as mere individuals. It detaches the right of access to the market (or to enjoy the benefits of the City) from Citizenship to link it to the alleged value of what everyone has (goods, currency or labor power) and, finally, leads people to pay full attention to individualistic things and exchanges, thus diverting it from their Rights and the Principles of the social order. However, when a system is obsessed with the price of things, things become more important than people, Citizenship becomes a joke, and equality in Rights between Citizens is as inconceivable as it is impossible to achieve (27).

(26) The expression « abolition of money » is incorrect because, basically, it only expresses the desire to abolish money. Yet Money is more than currency ; it's an idea, a belief, and one does not abolish an idea ; one fights it with another idea, one suffocates it with another belief, one destroys it by replacing it.

(27) It should be remembered that prices were originally obtained by the equity method of accounting for objects. Under barter, the (market) value of objects is determined by a certain amount of other objects. In a monetary system, the (market) value of objects is measured in money, that is, by a number of monetary units that represent all the objects that this sum of units allows to buy. Objects are therefore always equated, but indirectly. It follows that the

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Moreover, the notion of value only makes sense if there are differences in value between things, between products, therefore between producers, between individuals. These differences in value translate, for products, into price differences, for producers, into supposed differences in merit, for individuals, into real inequalities in rights. Whether or not these differences, these inequalities, are fair from a particular point of view, logical or not from a social point of view, a system based on the notion of value cannot escape them ; it's compelled to accept them, to justify them by all means, to maintain them and even to introduce them when nothing requires it (28).

There should be no need to say more to acknowledge that Money is by nature incompatible with Equality, that it's therefore anti-social. But this is probably not enough for many, let us continue. The belief that the notion of (market) value is necessary to exchange implies measuring or rather establishing the so-called value of things so that they can be exchanged for things of presumed equivalent value. Under barter, the value of a thing is the amount of things it can obtain in exchange or for which it has been exchanged. In a monetary system, it corresponds to a certain number of standard units, that is, the price at which a thing is offered or sold. The only difference, in essence, between barter and the monetary system lies in the units of measurement of value's nature. It, therefore, appears that Money goes hand in hand with the

equivalence of things (even indirect) is at the heart of the monetary system and that this system cannot be both obsessed with the equivalence of value between things and concerned with equality in Rights between Citizens.

(28) The idea that a poor person isn't and will never be equal in rights with a rich person and that there will always be rich and poor people in a monetary system, because of the nature of this system, did not occur to Rousseau who, from then on, was obliged to seek in Man himself the origin of inequality. « *He who sang or danced best ; the most beautiful, the strongest, the most skillful or the most eloquent became the most considered, and this was the first step towards inequality [...]* » He concludes : « *It follows from this statement that inequality, being almost nil in the state of nature, draws its strength and increase from the development of our faculties and the progress of the human spirit and finally becomes stable and legitimate through the establishment of property and laws.* » (Discourse on the origin and foundations of inequality among people)

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notion of unit. But what is a monetary unit? It's the materialization of the right to exchange (under barter) or to access the market (in a monetary system). The more units an individual has, the more extensive his right is, the more he can exchange or buy things. This confirms what we said earlier, namely that Mony imposes the dissociation between Citizenship and Rights, since we see that individuals, therefore, hold the right to exchange or access the market, not from who they are, nor even from what they do, but from the units they have (momentarily). This conception is contrary to the Principle according to which an individual has Rights in the City because he's a Citizen. It's therefore reprehensible in itself. Moreover, the fact that the extent of an individual's right of access to the market depends on the number of units at any given time means that this right is limited in itself whereas, theoretically to be conferred by Citizenship, it shouldn't be measurable, quantifiable or limited, only its exercise is limited by the reality of things, by the exercise by others of this same right, or maybe by the law.

Thus, while we've not yet addressed the relationship between the notion of unit and inequality, we see that Mony is already contradicting two Principles. Now, to understand how it is reprehensible for Equality, we need to study how the units, that we will now call currency, work.

The monetary system is an evolution of barter. Things are no longer exchanged among themselves but for currency, the currency, therefore, serving as a standard of value. Currency is, therefore, a means of exchange that is exchanged, a characteristic that derives from barter (29). However, as we

(29) A means of exchange makes it possible to assert or exercise rights, but it isn't necessarily itself the subject of an exchange. As we'll see, the City's means of exchange will not be exchanged. On the other hand, it is in the nature of monetary units to be exchanged. Because units whose function is to measure the value of things only make sense in a barter system. It's through direct exchange, through the equity method of accounting, that the notion of value is born, which, under certain conditions, gives birth to currency. The monetary system itself still consists in a barter, even if the objects are no longer exchanged directly between them. Removing the exchange of currency by making monetary units into credits that are subtracted from the buyer without transferring them to the seller, as advocated by the *theory of the distributive economy of abundance*, would remove the notion of value's raison

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have seen, currency embodies the right of individuals to access the market. This right, therefore, passes from hand to hand, as exchanges and transactions take place, confirming once again that it isn't linked to the status of individuals and their Citizenship, but depends entirely on the number of units at their disposal. Thus, for an individual to have rights, he or she must somehow obtain currency from others. This also applies to groups of individuals and legal entities (associations, companies, States, etc.) Generally speaking, for money to be here, it must be taken there. Money, therefore, functions according to a first principle, that of communicating vessels.

The immediate consequence of this principle is that, instead of having Rights simply because they are Citizens, individuals spend their time ripping currency from some and then giving it back to others (usually when they pay or buy). However, since currency doesn't attest anything about the person who holds it and is valid in all hands (money has no smell), all means are good to obtain it, even if they're not all authorized by law (30). But not all individuals can't be equally successful in this frantic quest. It's therefore impossible for all individuals to have the same amount of currency and therefore have the same rights. Moreover, the same individual doesn't always have the same quantity of currency, since he can only enjoy the rights it materializes by stripping himself of them. His rights are exhausted as he exercises them (31). It's therefore clear that, if the level of an individual's rights constantly varies,

d'être and, by the same token, would condemn the monetary unit principle. Therefore, keeping monetary units without perpetuating the logic and mode of operation that justifies their existence would inevitably be doomed to failure. The monetary system works in the way we know because it is part of Money's genes, which is its keystone.

(30) In such a system, laws allow much more than legitimacy, from a social point of view, allows it. A system which, by its nature, violates the Principles of the social order, is compelled to enshrine injustices. It can only prohibit acts that offend its profound nature. Thus, it's allowed to exploit employees, but not to steal bread or rob passers-by, because violent theft breaks with the logic of bartering (exchange) and subtle theft (via so-called value).

(31) An employee's rights are at their maximum level when he receives his pay. But they quickly run out so that at the end of the month and sometimes even earlier he has nothing or almost nothing left, or even less than nothing.

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the individuals who make up what we call the « Society » cannot either be equal in rights.

Especially since money works according to a second principle. These rights, which for the most part pass through the currency, are vital for everyone. So everyone needs currency and everyone is looking for it. (We know that currency can't be distributed equally among « Citizens » anyway since it's based on the notion of value.) Since rights are in « Society » what force is in Nature, some individuals have far more rights and currency than others, which gives them power to use either to keep their wealth or to enrich themselves further. This power is further enhanced by the servility of others, either by worshiping the force or by hoping to receive crumbs from them. So, everyone lies down and all the doors open in front of the rich. Those in whose hands currency is concentrated therefore have every opportunity to further increase their wealth (at the expense of others), hence the expression « money goes to money ». Currency, therefore, functions according to a second principle, that of attraction.

The concept of communicating vessels makes Equality impossible ; the principle of attraction pushes inequalities to become ever more pronounced.

These are the principles and mechanisms of the monetary system that alone explain not only why there's no Equality, but also why it's inaccessible, why Money is irrevocably reprehensible for social order.

To reach the same conclusion, we could have developed the practical efficiency of the Money principles and the properties of currency, depicted the dark reality of the monetary system, reported all the crimes to which they open the door, described the lives and behavior of individuals under their control, showed their impact on the minds of people, but who hasn't realized all these things through this analysis already? Anyone who's in good faith must agree that oppression and exploitation, a corollary of inequality, crime and corruption, the procession of currency, are incurable evils under Money. It follows, particularly concerning oppression and exploitation, that they're less the due to individuals than of the system itself. In a monetary system, individuals inevitably

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divide into oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited, « winners » and « losers »... and it doesn't matter - from a social point of view - who plays what part, since someone must play it anyway (32). *It's, therefore, time to understand that the real enemy of Equality isn't Humanity (or certain people) or the way in which money is used, but Money itself ; that Humanity can, if it so wishes, annihilate Money, but that the whole will of Humanity cannot do anything against its laws as long as it exists.*

The other major lesson to be drawn from monetary experience is that everything in human society (or in a system that tends towards society) is articulated around exchange and bears the mark of the means of exchange in force. How could it be otherwise when individuals, having more real needs than they can satisfy by themselves and producing nothing on their own (especially today), have a vital need to combine their talents, to share their productions with others and, within the framework of an indirect exchange system, to have the means of exchange recognized by the system, obtaining the latter thus becoming the first need and the object of a real obsession ? People do what it takes to obtain the means of exchange and what its nature allows them to do to obtain it. All the means of exchange's properties, whether or not they are following the current laws, whether or not they conform with the Principles of the social order, are exploited ; all its vicious or virtuous principles are customary ; all the social or anti-social effects inherent to its nature occur. A means of exchange thus shapes the « world » in its image, in the image of the principles and flaws it bears. It is at the same time the

(32) The monetary system doesn't leave, even to individuals passionate about justice, the possibility of « succeeding » without becoming abusers and, in a way, exploiters. That's why it's particularly repugnant and unbearable. However, the « champagne leftists » adapts to this situation because they pretend to ignore the fact that, in such a system, exploitation is indirect. But the common people know or feel that the rich (i. e. the capitalist nobility, the aristocracy of Money) don't make them live but live at their expense. The champagne leftists will never be able to recognize it. They'll dare denounce Money even less. After having contributed to all possible social achievements in a monetary system, they're now condemned to go round in circles, to trample, to hold a consensual and insipid speech (see the Socialist Party's declaration of principles of April 16th, 2008) and sink into discredit.

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foundation of the « Society » (therefore the most stable or least vulnerable element), the director of the force of things and the guarantor of the order (or disorder) established by it.

This is undeniable for the currency and is valid for any means of exchange. However, the existence of a means of exchange isn't negative in itself. On the contrary, it can be extremely positive. Because the nature (vicious or virtuous) of the circle in which the means of exchange leads the « Society » depends solely on its particular properties, and therefore varies, for better or for worse, according to the means of exchange.

Currency, for its part, inevitably generates a vicious circle since, while being at the heart of « Society », it is based on Money, whose principles are fundamentally antisocial. For the circle to be virtuous, the means of exchange must be following social logic and enforce it rather than destroy it. In other words, it must convey the Principles of political association, so that Citizens can only obtain it by fulfilling their Duties and exercise no more and no less than their Rights when they use it. Just as money alone generates and maintains inequality, only a means of exchange with radically different properties, following the Principles of the social order, can establish Equality and guarantee it against people's whims. This is the original and central idea of Civism.

But Humanity wants to believe that it is the only master of its destiny, that it has no enemy or friend but itself. The idea of being dominated and conditioned by nature or by some element that escapes it is unbearable to it. Yet, the fact is : people don't create the monetary system ; they're born in it and live for the most part without considering leaving it. They, therefore, operate within a framework for which they've not set the rules, a framework constituted by Money and its laws. To acknowledge this would be to admit the existence and irresistible influence of Money ; it'd be to admit Money's supremacy over Humanity (33). Unacceptable ! Too proud,

(33) For some time now, there has been talk of « *putting Humanity back at the center of the system* ». This desire only makes sense with the assessment we've just established, to the fact that Humanity or human considerations aren't at the heart of the system. However, the immediate and obvious consequence of this observation hasn't yet been drawn. How can we place



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Humanity has always wanted to see currency as a means and has never been able to conceive Money, which would have forced it to take the measure of their role and to recognize its subordination. But this pride also pushes the few bold people who are considering the abolition of currency to reject any means of exchange. Thus, while some do not want to see Money as a tyrant, others cannot see in a new medium of exchange the only possible « savior ».

As hurtful as it may be to people's pride to think that society is governed above all by its means of exchange, today by currency, it's imperative that they agree to this, otherwise they'll repeat the mistakes and failures of the past. Changing rulers or laws, in a monetary system, has never changed anything for Equality, as countless « revolutions » attest because the cause of inequality is elsewhere than in people and their will. Democracy alone will never bring Equality. Moreover, doesn't aspiring to Equality mean that there isn't any, that inequality reigns, that the Rights of « Citizens » are violated and that democracy, in this context, is itself by nature impossible or illusory ? Equality is equality of Rights rooted in facts and, therefore, protected from human vicissitudes, that will bring and guarantee true democracy (34). Insofar as Equality is incompatible with Money, and since a modern Society cannot do without a means of exchange, the only useful action allowed to people aspiring to Equality is to promote and establish a means of exchange that is no longer based on Money but the Principles of the social order. The Equality thus established will certainly not be maintained on a day-to-day basis by people, but at least they will be it's

Humanity at the center of the monetary system, when its center is by definition currency and over and above Money ? Unless we want to change the deep nature of the system, in other words, to abolish currency (in the manner of Civism) and establish Equality, this desire is only a pious wish, this discourse, however beautiful it may be, is but champagneing (champagne leftist gossip).

(34) This conception according to which Equality is or isn't, and doesn't depend on Democracy, laws, or rulers, but on the nature of the means of exchange in force, reverses all the fathers of democracy's ideas, in particular those of Rousseau who, in « The Social Contract », wrote that « *It is precisely because the force of things always tends to destroy equality that the force of legislation must always aim to maintain it.* » (Book II, Chap. 11, On the various systems of legislation).

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creators, unlike the inequality and Money that have imposed themselves on them.

Establishing a means of egalitarian exchange is, therefore, the essential mission that Civism assigns to revolutionaries. Once this is done, Equality will reign, the City will be founded and the Revolution (35), *will be over* (36). *The time will then no longer be for revolutionaries, but Citizens.*

This implies that revolutionaries, knowing that everything depends on the means of exchange in force, do not have to worry about the post-revolution period and think about the City in its smallest details. The reasons that lead them to denounce currency must give them absolute confidence in the means of exchange they advocate. It is he who, by instilling a new power in place, will be the true mastermind of the regeneration of the social body (37). Moreover, however farsighted they may be, revolutionaries cannot imagine all the problems that will arise, nor can they conceive all the solutions that will then arise. Even so, nothing will prevent the Citizens from doing in their time what they see fit. Concern for things that aren't within our control and over which our will can't have any influence is, therefore, a waste of time, denotes a lack of political sense and is an expression of pride unworthy of revolutionaries.

Let us stress that revolutionaries, however sensitive they may be, must refrain from investing themselves on all sides

(35) *Revolution* here is the contraction of the expression « revolutionary evolution ». Civism is aware that historical ruptures are impossible and attempts in this direction disastrous, that only evolutions are realistic and irreversible. But Money's transition to Equality, brought, whatever one may say, by the evolution of things, will indeed have a revolutionary character.

(36) The Revolution will be the work of revolutionaries constituted as a political party, whose existence will become useless once the Revolution is accomplished, insofar as its objective is achieved and it will have thereby lost its *raison d'être*. What will happen to it then, to this wonderful device ? Ideally, it should be dissolved from above unless, as might be expected, it explodes from below under the pressure of diverging views on, until then, secondary issues. In any case, the establishment of it as a single party is out of the question. If it survives the Revolution, it must be one of many.

(37) Logically, this regeneration, impossible under Money, will, therefore, be less the work of people than that of the new means of exchange. But, for the same reasons that Money's guilt has always been hidden, people, or rather Citizens, will believe they're the only perpetrators when they'll only be, so to speak, the instruments.

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because that's not their role. The role of a revolutionary is defined and circumscribed by the very purpose of the Revolution: to establish Equality, in other words, to destroy Money by establishing a new means of exchange. All their efforts must be directed towards this single goal. To set oneself an infinite number of objectives can only provoke premature or even absurd polemics, disperse energies, undermine the revolutionary movement and, in the end, compromise or at least delay the Revolution (38). That revolutionaries, as individuals, think about a multitude of measures or reforms is legitimate and inevitable. But to speak about it as revolutionaries and thus hinder the progress of the Revolution, like non-revolutionaries, is irresponsible and indeed counter-revolutionary.

Nevertheless, the adoption of a new means of exchange, just like setting the cat among the pigeons, will have far-reaching and profound repercussions in all fields and will render obsolete many organizations, economic mechanisms, laws, etc... By necessity, everything will eventually adapt to this new situation, as it happened with currency. But imagining the measures essential to the functioning of the City as soon as it enters into force, before having been able to draw lessons from experience, will save precious time. Let us understand that it's up to revolutionaries to consider and compensate for the inadequacies that must logically appear first, those that concern areas that today bear the mark of Money and inequality and that tomorrow will be shaken by the new means of exchange and Equality.

However, it should be noted that considering measures of this kind doesn't mean that we're falling into the trap we mentioned above. For it is no longer a question of thinking in all directions, depending on everyone's sensitivity or driven by impatience, but of reflecting on different objectives according to the order of priority set by the new means of exchange itself,

(38) Anyone with ideas naturally wants them applied as soon as possible. It's therefore inevitable that ideas theoretically intended to organize the City will eventually arouse the desire to implement them immediately, before the Revolution is made, and therefore in a context to which they're not appropriate. In doing so, these secondary ideas come to the forefront and distract from the fundamental measures without which there can be no Revolution.

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while taking care not to move too far from the central problem, so that nobody can advocate the application of the measures and reforms envisaged for the City until Equality is achieved.

The Principles are now in place, and the goal is set. However, let us address one last point before getting to the heart of the matter.

It may be useful and will certainly be convenient to give a name, from now on, to the partisans of *Civism*, the champions of Equality, the revolutionaries. We'll call them the *Patricians*.

It'd seem logical, however, to call them *Civists*. The name *Patricians* has been used since the very beginning, in December 1997 of the theory of *Civism*, which didn't get its name until October 2002. The reasons that led to its adoption, which will be presented below, are still valid and haven't been called into question. Moreover, the names in « ist », referring to the nature of the ideology or its author, are already widely used and connoted (39). The word *Civists* has no charm in itself. It only has the merit of referring to *Civism*, which is of little interest since it doesn't reveal the content of this theory to those who know nothing about it, and those who know it also know what its supporters are called, whatever their name may be.

However, it would be possible to simply call them *Citizens*. But, since Equality is the ambition of *Civism*, it follows that Equality isn't yet and that there are no more *Cities* than *Citizens* - if not in conscience. It would, therefore, be foolish, even dangerous, to call them *Citizen* while they are fighting to become one. Because calling *Citizens* individuals who aren't, perpetuates in them the ignorance of what *Citizenship* is, even prevents them from thinking about what it should be, since it already seems to them to be acquired, and therefore compromises the achievement of Equality. The use of the term *Citizen* must, therefore, be reserved for future members of the City as defined by *Civism*. But then, what should we call its supporters ? Why not *Patricians* ? This term

(39) The same could be said about « ism » ideologies, except that in the case of « civism », this word wasn't invented and that it was precisely because it kept coming back that it was eventually adopted to refer to the theory itself.

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is as good as any, although it has advantages that others don't.

Firstly, like the terms *Citizen*, *City*, *Republic*, *Democracy*, etc., it's drawn from the repertoire of antiquity, more precisely from the history of Rome. However, ancient Rome evokes greatness, ambition, panache, rigor, discipline, all aspects to which people must undoubtedly be sensitive when they propose to change the face of the world.

Then, by its root « patri », this term refers, although wrongly, to those of *patriot*, *patriotism*

(40), almost synonymous with *City*, *Citizen*, and *Civism*, hence its relevance, since patriotism is at the heart of Civism. (*Patrician could be considered as a Patriot-Citizen contraction.*) However, it would be inconceivable that people willing to brave all dangers to achieve Equality in their country wouldn't be patriots deep within them, whether or not they know what true patriotism is (41). In the latter case, it's only by

(40) *Patrician* derives, not from *patria*, the fatherland, but from *patres*, the term used to designate the members of the Senate.

(41) *City* and *Fatherland*, as a *People* or *Nation*, refers not to a place, but to all the individuals who compose them. The cement of these groups is fraternity, mutual respect, mutual dedication. This link, particularly concerning the *Fatherland*, can also be purely moral and unilateral. (J. F. Kennedy expressed this idea very well when he said, « *Don't ask yourself what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country.* ») These groups then only exist in the consciousness of sentient, reasonable and courageous beings. Thus the *Fatherland* refers to those whom we love, whose happiness we hope for and for whom we're ready to make every sacrifice. Selfish and cowardly people have no homeland. But whoever loves and fights for others makes others his « homeland » under any name, even under none.

That said, the *City*, *Fatherland*, and *Nation* don't have a specific dimension. They necessarily consist of at least two individuals but can include the whole human species, which is what they tend to do. Thus the *City* is the *Homeland* of *Citizens* as *Humanity* is the people's *Homeland*, so that a *Citizen*, being also a person, has at least two *Fatherlands*, the first covering in part the second. But the *Fatherland* is a concept. Also patriotism, in the true sense of the word, implies an increase in consciousness. The individual must rise above himself to conceive and belong to a whole that he can rarely embrace, and his duties towards beings most of whom are unknown to him, of which he often ignores even the existence. However, the *City* is less abstract than *Humanity*. It's therefore natural that patriotism should apply first to the *City* before it extends to *Humanity*. On the other hand, it's absurd to claim *Humanity* as one's *Fatherland* and at the same time blame those for whom patriotism, logically, is stronger, without being exclusive, when it applies to the *City*, which is a portion

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seeing the defenders of Equality shamefully referring to the word that unknowing patriots will be able to rediscover the meaning of patriotism and re-appropriate it.

Finally, revolutionaries need a name that calls them to rise up and inspires respect in others, a name that corresponds to what they want to achieve, and not a name that demeans or glorifies the state that revolts them (42), from which they want

of Humanity itself. Moreover, *patriotism* shouldn't be confused with *nationalism*, which Romain Gary defined as follows : « *Patriotism is the love of one's family. Nationalism is the hatred of others.* » To which we will add that ultra-internationalism (leftism) is the love of others and ultimately the hatred of one's own.

Patriotism and humanism well understood are therefore the same thing. To distinguish them is to denature and annihilate them both ; it is to strip the former of its strength and to empty the latter of its essence. A humanist without patriotism is a one-armed man. A patriot without humanity is a monster. Patriotism is the only lever that can lift the world. Only the love of the Fatherland can sustain this achievement. Why work for Humanity without looking at it as its Fatherland ? And how to achieve this without relying on the City, the only Fatherland with a real consistency ? (« *For me*, wrote the wise Gandhi who led his country, India, to independence, *patriotism rhymes with humanity.* » (*All Men are Brothers*, Gallimard, folio, 2007, p. 208)

Patriotism has two powerful enemies : stupidity that ignores what it is, and selfishness that knows it. In opposite directions, both are working towards the same goal : to break this formidable lever. Patriots are therefore surrounded on the one hand by individualists who, under various pretexts (sometimes under the very pretext of patriotism) and by various means, seek to annihilate patriotism in order to better sacrifice Humanity to their petty views ; on the other hand, by primary humanists who, advocating an excessive and insipid, purely abstract humanism, reject patriotism as a retrograde idea and thus condemn Humanity to impotence and perpetual slavery. Thus, attacked, manipulated, distorted, threatened, patriotism, in the very interest of Humanity, needs and deserves to be defended, often against fake patriots, sometimes against unknowing patriots.

To conclude, patriotism, that is, love of the Fatherland, Humanity, and Justice or Equality (A true patriot considers his compatriots as his brothers, his equals, and not as footstools or cannon fodder.), is the right balance between individualism and humanitarianism. It's both respect for Humanity in detail, taken in each individual, and for Humanity in general, that is to say, for all peoples and all nations. In a nutshell, it's the quest against all odds, except for realities, for universal brotherhood. Also, nothing is more moving than the idea of the Fatherland, more altruistic and constructive than patriotic sentiment, and more criminal than slandering and stifling patriotism.

(42) Revolutionaries often adopted and proudly bore the name by which counterrevolutionaries contemptuously called them. Thus the Dutch ended up calling themselves the « Gueux », the French, the « Sans-culottes » (literally translated : without underwear), the Spaniards, the « Descamisados » (without

## INTRODUCTION

to emerge and from which the Revolution must indeed extract everyone. However, the patricians were the upper class of Rome and formed a kind of nobility. The name Patricians, therefore, implies the will of the partisans of Civism to raise the plebe to the patriciate, to merge the « classes » into a single one, that of the Citizens, and to generalize not misery but ease, not mediocrity but excellence. Moreover, is there a nobler enterprise than a Revolution ? Shouldn't revolutionaries be noble of heart and strive to spread around them the nobility that animates them ?

These are the reasons that determined the choice of this name. But there is one last one, and not the least : that of leaving this task neither to the careless nor to the malicious.

shirts), etc... However, as clever as these reversals are, they can only have negative long-term effects. A Revolution cannot glorify the sans-culottes and reach or aim to dress everyone since anyone who's cheekier than others is therefore considered a counter-revolutionary. It is no coincidence that these counter-revolutionary appellations of origin are indeed counter-productive. It's much more sensible for revolutionaries to cover themselves with a name that originally designates so-called superior characters. This is what Confucius did in a way by calling all good men noble, and the people whoever think lowly. This is what the philosophers of the 18th century, notably Rousseau, did by calling the people the sovereign. This is, in the same idea, what the revolutionaries of the early nineteenth century did by adopting the red flag, symbol since 1789 of martial law (raised by the Parisian National Guard at the Champ de Mars, on July 17, 1791, during the brutal repression of the supporters of the decline of Louis XVI), that is to say by turning against the bourgeois the symbol of the oppression of the People.





# **I**

## **FOUNDATIONS OF THE CITY**



## I. FOUNDATIONS OF THE CITY

### 1. The Social Contract

Individuals belonging to the same City, in other words, Citizens, are bound to each other - individually and collectively - by Duties, which generate for others and guarantee to each the same Rights. They are therefore bound by a contract containing the same clauses, and therefore by the same contract. The City is thus based on a single contract : the Social Contract (43).

Because it's unique, the Social Contract gives one and only one definition of Citizenship. To this Citizenship are attached the Duties and Rights of the Citizen, which are consequently identical for all Citizens (44). Thus, a Social Contract establishes the Equality of Citizens in Duties and Rights as the Fundamental Principle of the social order.

Let us emphasize that the Social Contract must be unique. Indeed, the only other option, apart from the total absence of a Contract, would be a personalized contract, which varies according to the individual. However, such a contract would always have been concluded between the « Citizen » and the City, which is all Citizens. But how could a « Citizen » accept Duties towards his « Citizens » without them having the same Duties towards him ? And how could he expect them to guarantee

(43) The term « Social Contract » inevitably recalls Jean-Jacques Rousseau's famous book. In this chapter and elsewhere, we'll, therefore, highlight what, while not inspired by him, is in line with his doctrine and what is different from it. However, it should be noted straightaway that, for Rousseau, the Social Contract « is reduced to the following terms : *Each of us joins his person and all his power under the supreme direction of the general will, and we receive as a body each member as an indivisible part of the whole.* » In other words, Rousseau who wrote on the subject didn't propose a real Social Contract like us. He only laid down a general Principle without deducting any clause from it.

(44) We do not repeat here what we've already said in the introduction, namely that « Being equal in Duties, Citizens guarantee each other the same Rights [...] ». Rousseau, for his part, writes that « *The commitments that bind us to the social body are only binding because they are mutual, and their nature is such that by fulfilling them we cannot work for others without also working for ourselves. [...] As long as the subjects are subject only to such conventions, they obey no one, but only their own will ; and to ask how far the respective rights of the sovereign and the citizens extend is to ask to what extent they can engage with themselves, each towards all and each towards each other.* » (From The Social Contract, Book II, Chap. 4, Boundaries of Sovereign Power)

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him Rights if he doesn't contribute to guaranteeing them the same Rights ? In a word, how could a « Citizen » be bound to all his fellow Citizens by a personalized contract without each of them signing the same contract with him, without all Citizens signing between themselves all the existing personalized contracts, without all Citizens being ultimately bound between themselves by a single Social Contract, the sum of all the personalized contracts ? It follows that the individualistic idea of a personalized social contract is only conceivable if one ignores or pretends to ignore that individuals cannot commit themselves to each other on different bases and if one considers the City as an abstraction ; and it would only really make sense, if one can say so, if the « Citizens » didn't make any commitment to the City and their fellow Citizens and expected nothing from them, in other words, if there was in fact neither a Contract nor a City nor Citizens. It is therefore absurd to consider the possibility of a so-called social *contract* that is effectively personalized. The contradiction between the terms « social » and « personalized » embodies all the incoherence and ridicule of the concept.

But let us suppose that such absurdity escapes the Citizens and that they adopt the principle of a personalized contract, a contract that therefore implies different duties and rights for each individual. Citizens would therefore not be equal in duties or rights, unless, pushing absurdity to its limits, they grant everyone the same rights without imposing the same duties on everyone (45), so that everyone would enjoy the benefits of the City, which would only be the result of the efforts of a few of them. But then, in what way would these so-called Citizens, concerned in one case by their person alone, distinguished in the other by their usurpation or oppression, constitute a City ?

The Social Contract must and can therefore only be unique. It must also be written and not tacit. A tacit Social Contract can only be appropriate for animals that instinctively know the Principles of political association, apply them without thinking and are therefore unable to distort them. On the other hand, it only takes one look at Humanity to know that it has long since annihilated them. However, if people were able to destroy the Social Contract

(45) It's obvious that the supporters of a personalized social contract refuse duties more than rights, obligations than freedoms, and while they refuse equality in terms of duties, they do not renounce equality in terms of rights, which is no longer justified.

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without even realizing it, it was partly because it was tacit, because nothing reminded them of the laws of the political association that they could then violate without remorse and that they could violate some more without crime, even if they hadn't forgotten them. The Social Contract, like any contract, must, therefore, be in writing. It would be curious, to say the least, to recognize the need for a written record for contracts that interest only individuals and relate only to particular rights, and to neglect it for the Social Contract that interests the Citizens that these same individuals are first and foremost, and that establishes their fundamental rights ! If there's only one contract to be written, it certainly is the Social Contract.

But what does the Social Contract consist of ? The Social Contract is not a Bill of Rights, i. e a detailed enumeration of the Rights, since it must, on the contrary, create the context in which the Rights can exist : the Society or the City. It's a statement of the general Principles of the City, in other words, the *fundamental* Duties and Rights of the Citizen and the City, the conditions for integration and exclusion from the social body. It merely reminds the people who have forgotten them, and the Citizens so that they don't forget them, of the natural laws of political association, laws common to any society worthy of the name, laws from which all the others derive or at least to which none should be opposed.

The Social Contract is only addressed to Citizens and individuals who want to become Citizens, meaning to the former what they must do to stay that way, to the latter, what they must do to achieve it. It also tells them what the City and their fellow Citizens owe them in return for their dedication, as in the event of treason. In a nutshell, it briefly but clearly states what Citizenship is all about.

How is the Social Contract established ? As we've said, the Social Contract is essentially a reminder of the natural laws of political association. However, the political association or the City is born of the instinct of self-preservation. It consists in the union of the Citizens' forces against anything that, from outside or inside, threatens their existence or their Rights. It isn't constituted by humanity or philosophy, but under the influence of necessity and to support power relations. Therefore, political association is, in the first place, the constitution of a collective force that is the

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only way to guarantee Citizens' Rights, by imposing on them upstream the Duties that generate on the one hand and protect on the other hand the said Rights. It's therefore impossible to establish the Citizen's fundamental Duties and Rights, in other words, the Social Contract, by overlooking the origin of the City, that is, by casting a discreet but inappropriate veil on its modest and primitive ambitions. Whether we like it or not, people were and still are above all animals ! This is the reason why the natural laws of political association aren't the result of philosophical reflection but an animal reflex and are common to any Society, whatever the sociable species to which its members belong. They stem from the very act of association between individuals sufficiently conscious to feel the interest of uniting and too rough to denature the Principles of their union (46).

However, a written Social Contract is necessarily a conscious work. Does that mean it's a fantasy work ? How could it be when the Principle of Equality between Citizens is affirmed, a Principle that cannot be ignored simply because this Contract is the same for all ? This is, therefore, the essential point of the Social Contract, over which fantasy has no control. As a result, it is less a question of inventing its clauses than admitting what Equality implies. Certainly, there can be both fantasy and respect for the Principle of Equality. But then the Principles of political association would be distorted or obscured and replaced by others. This alleged Social Contract would be inconsistent ; it would offend common sense and no one would adhere to it. Even

(46) Rousseau writes that « *the primitive act by which this[social] body is formed and united does not yet determine anything about what it must do to preserve itself.* » (From the Social Contract, Book II, Chap. 6, of the law) By « primitive act », Rousseau refers to the Social Contract. But, if we follow it, the Social Contract is without object, it's but a title on a blank page, whereas, for us, it has a purpose, that of ensuring as much as possible the conservation of the contractors, and must, therefore, indicate this purpose and the means of achieving it that flow logically from it, since it is they who form the contract. Rousseau contradicts himself in part because he writes earlier : « *In order that the social pact may not be an empty form, it tacitly contains this commitment which alone can give strength to others, that whoever refuses to obey the general will will be forced to do so by the whole body [...]* » (Book I, Chap. 7, Of the sovereign) As we've seen, the Social Contract, among people, must not be implied, and the clause indicated by Rousseau figures in that proposed further on. Why does Rousseau, for his part, specify that it should only be tacitly enclosed in it ? If such an important clause should not be expressed, what about the others ? So what will his Social Contract contain ?

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if it were to rally the fools, it would not found a City. Believing that they were walking towards Justice and happiness, the fools ran to anarchy and their ruin.

The clauses of the Social Contract can hardly vary from one City to another, except in the form, because all people, wherever they are, basically expect the same things from a political association with their fellow Citizens, even more so when this association subjects them all to the same conditions. So that, if a clause is missing, all Citizens feel the same loss and demand it ; if a clause is absurd, all suffer the consequences and want to remove it or correct its imperfection ; if a clause is good, all benefit and no one disputes it. In other words, the Social Contract isn't the expression of contradictory whims, but of universal desires, desires common to all Citizens because they stem from the sociable nature of Man, so that any Social Contract inevitably resembles another. It must, therefore, be noted that Citizens invent the Social Contract less than they submit to it as if it were a natural law, which is logical since it's only a reminder of the « natural » laws of the political association.

Now, although Citizens don't have to invent a Social Contract from scratch, they must nevertheless figure out its Principles. To do this, they only need to consider political association as a means of survival and to establish Equality as a fundamental Principle of the City. They must follow an animal, primary reasoning, devoid of any humanity. For it is a question here of establishing the Principles in their raw state, the Citizens' fundamental Duties and Rights, whereas, by nature, humanity neglects Citizenship - when it doesn't simply deny that there are Rights only in Society and that only Citizens have Rights in the strict sense - and is concerned above all with particular, optional, even fanciful Rights. Losing itself in such detail, it compromises the essential without achieving its goals. Humanity makes it possible to refine, not to roughen, and must therefore only intervene once the Social Contract has been established.

It should be noted, however, that we're talking about *Citizens*, which implies the City already founded, and therefore a Social Contract in force. However, there are no Citizens before the City exists, before a Social Contract is adopted and applied (47).

(47) In *La défaite de la pensée*, Alain Finkielkraut points out that, following counter-revolutionary thinkers, « Scientists, and not ideologues, declare that the social contract is a fiction, because, outside society, there are no autonomous

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We're talking about more Citizens modifying the Social Contract : a first Contract must still exist. The first version of the Social Contract, if there may be more than one, cannot, therefore, be the work of Citizens in the literal sense. Nor can it be the work of a crowd of individuals, because a crowd can challenge or approve what is, but it's difficult if not impossible for it to think and agree on what should be. The text of the first Social Contract can only be the work of isolated individuals or a reduced assembly, which must then be submitted to general approval, approval which, once acquired, then, but only then, consecrates this text into a Social Contract, and makes the people who've ratified it and all those who submit to it, Citizens. Although not all of them have contributed directly to the drafting of the Social Contract, it is nevertheless their work through ratification.

It is thus up to anyone to try to draft a Social Contract, although it is only up to people, Citizens in conscience, to achieve it. It is, therefore, the right of Patricians to propose their version of the Social Contract, and they will propose, to the very last detail, the following Social Contract :

### THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

*Considering that there are Rights only in Society, and Society only in the Citizens' Equality in Duties and Rights ; considering that a single Social Contract for all Citizens is the essential condition of Equality ; considering finally that a tacit Social*

individuals. » He quotes Taine according to which the notion of social contract is but a fantasy because it assumes that « *men born at twenty years of age, without parents, without past, without tradition, without obligation, without homeland, and who, assembled for the first time, will be dealing with each other for the first time.* » (Editions Gallimard, 1987, p. 41-42) Has a more preposterous argument ever been made ? Just because men are born in « societies » or systems that did not ask them for their opinion to exist, doesn't mean that adults, Citizens, shouldn't question these systems and cannot establish new relationships between them. Just because newborns (who aren't Citizens) don't have abilities doesn't mean that adults cannot exercise theirs. And just because something has never been done by previous generations doesn't mean that no generation has the right or even the duty to do it. Adults are constantly signing contracts with each other. Why shouldn't they conscientiously adopt a Social Contract ? This is the most important contract, but it is after all just a contract like any other ! Challenging Citizens' right to adopt or revise the Social Contract on the pretext that it didn't exist at birth or that it already exists, amounts to prohibiting them from entering into or amending any contract whatsoever, which is absurd.



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*Contract is the shortest way towards the negation of this Contract, towards the oblivion of the Principles of social order and the destruction of Equality ;*

*French Citizens recognize and found their association which constitutes the City of France or the French Republic (48) on the following Principles :*

**First Article** — Equality is the fundamental Principle of the social order and the City, which is all Citizens.

**Art. 2** — Integrating the City is based on mutual consent between the Citizen and the City and implies mutual dedication between them (49). Everyone is equal in Duties before the City ; only Citizens, having by definition fulfilled their Duties, are equal in Rights in the City.

(48) In this book, for example, we'll apply the theory of Civism to France, or more precisely to the City of France and the French People. But the Principles set out are valid regardless of the size of the nation or country. They can, therefore, be applied both at the European level and at the Earth level in the long term. However, it seems unlikely that the Revolution could take place even at the European level because to do so, Europe would have to still exist and all the old nations composing it would have to be ready and in sync with one another. There's no guarantee that the first condition will be met and there's no doubt the second cannot be met. No Revolution is seriously conceivable in the short term in the framework of capitalist Europe, and the first European people wanting to make it will have to leave the European Union if it still exists and if it's still part of it. Let us add that Europe, given its origin and the way it is built, will never form a nation. A nation is not declared ; it is forged over time and in the struggle. Yet Europe is a political and bureaucratic, and therefore artificial, construction, driven by a universalist, pacifist and mercantilist ideal, oscillating between nonsense and deception. How could Europe ever be a nation when the Europeanists - some in the name of Humanity, others in the name of Money - are obstructing national sentiment, despising popular opinions and trampling on common sense ? The Europeanists do not only dream of a world without borders (without nations, therefore without Europe or with a Europe, but without meaning), without races, without peoples, without conflicts, of an enchanted and sterile world, they believe or pretend to believe that borders, races, peoples, conflicts do not exist, that they're a pure product of the imagination. Believing that Europe has kept us from wars, it is certainly not these snags of peace that would defend it with an armed hand. In short, this Europe has no roots or human project, no citizens or soldiers ; it's just a facade, a chimera, a soap bubble. But reality always catches up with dreamers and liars.

(49) Let us remember here the sentence already quoted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau : « *The commitments that bind us to the social body are only binding because they are mutual, and their nature is such that by fulfilling them we cannot work for others without also working for ourselves.* » (From *The Social Contract*, Book II, Chap. 4, Boundaries of Sovereign Power)

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**Art. 3** — The City can only admit into its midst individuals who, without yet being part of it, do not disrespect it and already respect the Rights it recognizes to people in general and to its Citizens in particular. Every individual, in order to become a Citizen, and every Citizen, in order to remain a Citizen, also has the Duties to submit to the laws of the City, to participate in the life of the City, according to what it considers to be a participation, to be in solidarity with its fellow Citizens and to defend the City.

**Art. 4a** — All Citizens fulfilling the same Duties towards the City, the City has the duty to allow each of them to enjoy all its benefits (fruits of their participation), to guarantee as much as possible the security of their person and property, to ensure their physical and moral freedom, in a nutshell to meet their legitimate aspirations as best as it can.

**Art. 4b** — The Right to enjoy the benefits of the City implies, for every Citizen, the Right to access the market by virtue of being a Citizen. Goods taken off the market by the exercise of this Right become the legitimate private property of Citizens. This Right of Access, conferred by Citizenship, theoretically unlimited and therefore equal for all Citizens, is naturally limited by the desires of the Citizen, by the exercise of this same Right by other Citizens, by the nature of things and if necessary by the law.

**Art. 4c** — The protection that the City owes to its Citizens cannot be a prohibition for them to contribute to their defense or even to defend themselves - by all means in their power and whatever the consequences - when they're within their rights and alone against an aggressor.

**Art. 5** — The City also owes protection and assistance, to the extent of its capacities, to all those who, living within it, are no longer or not yet able to fulfill the Duties of the Citizen.

**Art. 6** — Any Citizen not fulfilling his or her Duties, by action or omission, violates the Rights of all Citizens and is liable to sanctions that may go as far as the loss of Citizenship.

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**Art. 7** — Any infringement of a single Citizen's Rights, as well as any call to destroy the present Social Contract, shall bring all Citizens to rise together as one against the oppressor. (50)

Once adopted, the Social Contract becomes the source of all the fundamental texts of the City, of all laws, of all Rights, of all institutions. In a nutshell, everything in the City must contribute to the application of the Social Contract, or at least nothing can contradict its spirit.

But before being adopted, the Patricians must be in a position to propose it. However, there's only one position that allows such a proposal to be made to « Citizens » : the high steps of political power. When the Patricians occupy this position, the adoption of the Social Contract will only be a formality. For the People, not ignoring their projects, will have brought them to power so that they may carry them out... and they'll have neither the will nor the possibility to disappoint the hope they've raised.

The greatest of these projects and the only real goal of the Patricians is to establish Equality and to destroy Money, as described in the next chapter. However, such a revolution, still inconceivable today, will require broad popular support tomorrow.

(50) These last two articles are found in substance in the pen of Jean-Jacques Rousseau : « As soon as this multitude is thus united in a body, one cannot offend one of the members without attacking the body ; even less offend the body without the members feeling it. [...] So that the social pact is not an empty form, it tacitly contains this commitment which alone can give strength to others, that whoever refuses to obey the general will shall be forced to do so by the whole body... » (The Social Contract, Book I, Chap. 7, Of the sovereign) « ... Any criminal attacker on social law becomes by his wrong-doings rebellious and traitorous towards the fatherland, he stops being a member by breaking its laws and even goes to war with it. » (Book II, Chapter 5, The Right to Life and Death)

These principles have been presented by some as the origin of totalitarian regimes, the revolutionary government of 1793 in the first place, Bolshevism and Nazism more recently, as if any political regime could be exempted from enforcing its laws, as if democracy was confused with tyranny, as if tyrants had waited for Rousseau to exist and took their inspiration from him in his writing. Without dwelling on the absurdity of these allegations and the perfidy of their authors, let us observe that these principles imply that laws, in order to be legitimate, must be the expression of the general will, that is to say, that they must be adopted by the people (which probably isn't very common among tyrants). If they're legitimate, all citizens must submit to them and help to ensure that they're respected. If they are illegitimate, no one is required to submit to them, if not forced, because the government and its agents have power but no legitimacy. Who then would have any interest in denying these principles ?

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How will such a turnaround take place ? Civism will undoubtedly win supporters through proselytism, but public opinion, as always, will only rally to it under the constraint of extraordinary circumstances, in this case, the bankruptcy of capitalism that is already on the horizon. Once the (virtual) currency will have died in their hands, people will have no choice but to accept a switch to another system, a non-monetary system. It's only by touching the bottom of the abyss towards which capitalism inevitably leads them that most of them will open their eyes to Money's vices and crimes and cast a new light on Civism and Equality.

The question now remains as to whether a Social Contract, to be adopted and enter into force, can be ratified by an absolute majority or must be accepted unanimously, since, once adopted by the City, everyone must respect it.

The stakes of such a question are high, but will it be necessary to use an extraordinary rule for this referendum ? The Patricians will only provoke it once as they're certain to win it easily. Nevertheless, some of the voters, fearing Equality or subjugated by monetary prejudices, will certainly reject this proposal for a Social Contract. Will the majority then have to renounce its hopes and submit, as the unanimity rule would require, to the will of the minority ? It might certainly seem « tyrannical » to decide such an important issue by a majority and thus force the minority to submit to a Social Contract that it has not accepted. But not to decide the question in favor of Equality, despite the majority wish, would be to decide it by default in favor of inequality, thus placing the majority in the position that should be that of the minority to the Social Contract. Now, in the name of what, on the one hand, to demand unanimity so that Equality is not established against the opinion of a minority and, on the other hand, to find a small minority sufficient to perpetuate inequality at the expense and against the wishes of the majority ? How can we accept such reasoning or, rather, such hypocrisy ? It's therefore no longer only fair that the majority decides for the minority, that the opposite, but the position of the majority will then be twice as legitimate since its opinion will dominate and that legitimacy is always on the side of the supporters of Equality. The question will, therefore, be decided by a majority.

Moreover, no one will force the reluctant (unknown, the vote being secret) to submit to the Social Contract, no one will prevent

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them from excluding themselves from the City, in other words from remaining on its territory but without being part of it (51). They'll only have to renounce the Rights that the City will recognize to all its Citizens. This will prove impossible in practice. Their money will be worth nothing, since the City will no longer support the one they have in their hands, and they'll no longer be able to earn any money since no one will want (or be able) to pay to obtain from them what will be « free » in the City. Thus, if they do not openly break with the City, if they're active among the Citizens and deserve the same Rights as they do in the eyes of the City, it will be too tempting for them to exercise them and blend into the mass, so that after having rejected the Social Contract by vote, they will, in fact, ratify it. To willingly no longer be considered as Citizens, they must, therefore, live in a secluded way, as the Constitution allows (52), and provide for all their needs on their own. Unless they opt for exile, in which case no one will keep them.

As we've said, Patricians will only come to power and *must resolve to do so when public opinion is clearly and resolutely in their favor*. It follows from what we've said above that the referendum on the Social Contract will only be a vote of confidence without surprise. Will this referendum then be of no interest ? No. First of all, it'll have a practical interest, that of making future Citizens aware of what the City will consist of, what their Duties and Rights will be. It will then be the official and unequivocal green light given by the People to the government to establish the civic Card (see next chapter) and at the same time complete the Revolution (53). Finally, it will have a symbolic role,

(51) « *If then there are opponents when the social contract is made, their opposition does not invalidate the contract, but merely prevents them from being included in it. They are foreigners among citizens.* » (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, The Social Contract, Book IV, Chap. 2, Voting)

(52) See Article X of the Declaration of Duties and Rights of Human, Citizen, and City.

(53) Equality is the end of the Revolution. It's for lack of having reached this term that past Revolutions, or more precisely attempts at revolution, in the long run, gave rise to popular movements of discontent, stirred up and recaptured by counter-revolutionaries (privileged and other nostalgic for the old regime). It is therefore important not to make any mistake : worn regimes collapse in a few days, even in a few hours under the irresistible pressure of the People and thanks to the intervention or passivity of the former repressive forces (police, army). The

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that of announcing to the world the French people's resolution to open the era of Equality and Humanity with a vengeance.

It is now clear that the referendum on the Social Contract will be the first step that the Patricians will take since it will condition the implementation of all the others. But the Social Contract will be a sacred charter. On the one hand, unlike ordinary contracts, the Social Contract of the City will not be negotiable by individuals. Anyone who wishes to be a Citizen must accept it as proposed by the City and faithfully fill in its clauses. On the other hand, there will be no paper to sign. It will be through his actions that an individual will automatically become a Citizen. In other words, it will suffice that an individual is admitted to participate in the life of the City or that he participates in it for him to be immediately recognized as a fully-fledged Citizen.

Equality once in effect, the Principle of a Social Contract will be forever accepted. But does this mean that the very text of the Contract must be forever immutable and that a generation will have forever fixed its clauses ? No ! It would be against all the Principles. Admittedly, individuals cannot modify the Social Contract as they see fit, but the City, which means all Citizens, can do so at any time. How ?

The Constitution of the City must provide a means (and therefore a constitutional means) for Citizens to express themselves and modify when they wish the fundamental texts and even the laws that govern them. A strong opinion must, therefore, be sufficient to provoke a referendum on any subject, the result of which must have the force of law. That said, the Social Contract,

supporters of the old regime are overwhelmed, swept away, fled ; any counter-revolution was then impossible. These events, if not peaceful, are not very bloody because they are very fast. And things would stop there if the Revolution kept its promises of Freedom and Equality, Justice and Democracy because then the People would unanimously bless it and nip in the bud any counter-revolutionary desire. But Mony does not allow any of this. However, it was never called into question and could not have been. People therefore always ended up dividing themselves into those who still wanted to believe, those who no longer believed and those who never believed, each of these camps being itself divided into factions, parties or tendencies. As only one system can prevail, a struggle to the death over these vital issues became not only possible but inevitable, without the victory of one side, not even that of the revolutionaries or alleged revolutionaries, becoming the triumph of the Revolution. Under these conditions, the revolutionaries themselves were objectively counter-revolutionaries. It is therefore not the Revolutions that generate counter-revolutions and (therefore) dictatorships referred to as revolutionary, but the absence of a real Revolution.

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as it is very simple, will undoubtedly be virtually uncontested. The normal procedure for calling a referendum would then be to exclude any referendum on it. The fact that it is not contested would indeed tend to show that Citizens accept it. But this acceptance would be tacit. However, Citizens of all generations must speak out openly to preserve the full force of the Social Contract. Also, in addition to having the opportunity to modify it, Citizens must have the opportunity to approve, perpetuate and make it their own. The City will, therefore, have to hold a referendum on it at regular intervals, for example, every twenty years.

The reasons for establishing this regular referendum also imply one for the other two fundamental texts : the Declaration of Duties and Rights and the Constitution. However, as these texts are more complicated, more detailed and therefore more susceptible to imperfections, these referendums will then be an opportunity to amend or complete them. Thus, the City will regularly, although not daily, be the scene of debates on ideas that will keep civic spirit alive.

### 2. The civic Card

The Social Contract sets out the Principles but does not recommend a method of application insofar as these Principles are theoretically timeless and cannot be associated, in such a text, with a necessarily cyclical method of application. As constant as the Principles are, how they are applied can change. It is to facilitate this evolution at the level of things (54) that the Social Contract should be maintained at the level of the Principles.

The Social Contract itself, therefore, does not indicate any way of applying the Principles it contains, which, however, condemn some practices as much as they encourage others.

The first and most important practice condemned by the Social Contract is the use of currency. Indeed, Article 4a prohibits it as a means of unequal exchange ; Article 4b, as a means of exchange based on the notion of value (Money) and unity, which leads to artificially and arbitrarily limiting the Right to access the market. Conversely, these articles prescribe the principles of exchange and the City's means of exchange.

First of all, to take part in exchanges, to be able to access the market, you must be a Citizen, i. e. *participate in the life of the City, according to what it considers to be a participation* (art. 3).

Secondly, the City must guarantee each of its Citizens *equal access to all its benefits* (art. 4a).

Finally, the Right of access, conferred by Citizenship, theoretically unlimited and therefore equal for all Citizens, is *naturally limited by the desires of the Citizen, by the exercise by other Citizens of this same Right, by the nature of things and if necessary by the law* (art. 4b).

Thus, according to the Social Contract, participation in the life of the City is the foundation of Citizenship, which in turn is the foundation of the Right of access to the benefits of the City. It is

(54) It is indeed a question of *facilitating* and not *allowing* this evolution, because, when evolution becomes necessary, no text can prevent it. Refraining from stating in the Social Contract how the Principles are to be applied makes it possible to consider an evolution calmly as soon as it becomes possible, and must thus avoid quarrels and frictions that would only delay this evolution until it becomes essential.



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therefore sufficient for an individual to be a Citizen to be able to access the market freely. On the one hand, he participates in the life of the City, such is his Duty ; on the other hand, he enjoys the benefits of the City, such is his Right. The question now is how to apply this Principle.

This question does not arise when the City is small and there are few Citizens because everyone knows each other. They live and work together. Everyone knows what others are doing. No one ignores the Citizenship of others ; everyone wears it, so to speak, on their faces.

The problem arises when Citizens begin to be strangers to each other. So everyone doesn't know what his neighbor is doing, whether or not he is fulfilling his Duties, deserves or not the Rights of the Citizen, if he is a Citizen. However, the benefits of the City are present on the market, i. e. among merchants who need proof of their customers' Citizenship to authorize them to exercise their Right of access. The City must, therefore, provide its Citizens with a means of certifying their Citizenship anywhere and on any occasion. This means, which allows exchanges between Citizens and the City, and therefore between Citizens, will by definition be a means of exchange.

There are various possible ways to certify Citizenship, but none of them, at the moment, seems more appropriate and offers as many advantages as a smart card. Civism, therefore, adopts a smart card as a means of exchange, which, having as its primary function to certify Citizenship, will be called : civic card.

Let us clearly explain, step by step, the properties and the regular way of using the civic Card :

### **THE CIVIC CARD**

- 1.** The civic Card is a smart card that allows you, through a computer network, to connect to a database and verify the Citizenship of its owner.
- 2.** Every Citizen of France, that is, every individual who has fulfilled his or her Duties for the City, will be provided by the City with a civic Card. All companies in France will have a Card reader.

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3. The Civic Card, which is strictly personal, will also serve as an identity card, and a security system that is as secure as possible will ensure that no one other than its owner can use it.
4. When the Cardholder is a Citizen, his Card will be valid and will allow him free access to the City's market, in other words, to take what he wants from it as much as availability and the law allow it.
5. Any acquisition by a Citizen, any sale of a product or service by a company will automatically be recorded in a central database.
6. Any good removed from the market by a Citizen through his civic Card will become his property.
7. No access to the market will be possible without a Card or with an invalid Card, meaning that, after having followed the procedure of use, the holder's Citizenship is not confirmed and the acquisition of a good or the providing of a registered service is not possible.
8. The City may regulate or limit access to certain products, including goods requiring a lot of Labor and raw materials or rare materials, and products imported from monetary countries, but should never forget that the Right of Citizens to access the market, being conferred by Citizenship, is not quantifiable in itself, must be unlimited in theory and should, therefore, be as limited as possible in practice.

The civic Card will, therefore, be presented and used like our current credit cards, with the difference that it will allow access to a database, without taking anything from it. This database will not be a bank account supplied in any units, but the place, so to speak, where information about a person's Citizenship will be stored. There will be no monetary units. Labor will not be paid (in the capitalist sense of the word) and things will be invaluable (55). Citizens will not have monetary units and will not need them. A

(55) It is only because work is paid, paid with currency, that, in a monetary system, things have a price (in the market sense of the word). The sums obtained by the sales do not concern the objects sold. They are of interest only to the people who produced them or contributed to their sale and need currency to be able to buy what others have produced and which they too charge for the same reasons. It is not the things that, in a monetary system, need currency, that have a price, but people.

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seller will therefore only access the database, via his customer's civic Card, to verify his Citizenship and, in the event of a positive response, authorize him to take with him whatever he wants (or whatever he is entitled to by law, which will be the same for all). As the right to access the market is now conferred by Citizenship, the purchasing power of Citizens will be unlimited - more precisely indefinite - or nil. A Citizen will be entitled to everything ; a non-Citizen will be entitled to nothing. There will not be that infinity of intermediate degrees that exists when purchasing power depends on wealth, that is when it is a sum of rights materialized by monetary units instead of being an indivisible Right attached to Citizenship (56).

Being theoretically unlimited and concretely indefinite for each Citizen, the Right of access to the market, conferred by Citizenship, will be equal for all Citizens and as extensive as possible in absolute terms. Now, the fact that this Right is indefinite does not mean that its exercise will be boundless. The limits of the Right of access will be, as indicated in the Social Contract : the desires of the Citizen, the exercise by others of this same Right, the nature of things and in some cases the law. But these limits will in no way be comparable to the intrinsic limits of a budget. Whether it is by nature impossible, despite unlimited theoretical purchasing power, to acquire something that no longer exists on the market or for the law to intervene to regulate access to certain products is fundamentally different from the fact that the right of market access is restricted in itself and, moreover, unevenly according to individuals. This difference is the one that exists between a child whose mother, to protect him, puts dangerous products out of his reach and another child whose mother, supposedly for the same reasons, would attach to the radiator with a more or less long rope. In the first case, corresponding to that of the City, the Citizen can acquire

(56) To those who, attached to the notion of value (Money), imagine that Citizens will have a variable purchasing power according to their professional activity, their function in the company, their position in the City, etc... No ! The Citizens' Right to access the market will not be conferred on them by units of any kind but by their Citizenship. Citizens will not have the choice of fulfilling more or less their Duty and will not do more of one profession than another to obtain more or less Rights in return and at their convenience. Any individual who, for the City, has fulfilled his Duty to participate in the life of the City, whatever his form of participation, will be a Citizen and will have as such, like all his fellow Citizens, the Right to access the market.

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everything that is not impossible by nature or prohibited by law ; in the second, corresponding to the monetary system and any rationing system, the individual can only buy what he or she is allowed by the units or tickets at his or her disposal, even if nothing else, not even the law, prevents him or her from buying more and even if the general interest would be that everyone may consume more.

Like credit cards, the civic Card will therefore essentially provide access to information. But, unlike currency, which is and remains the means of exchange of the monetary system, it will not embody or materialize the Rights of the Citizen. These will be attached to Citizenship, to the individual, not through the City's means of exchange. The civic Card will allow them to be used by merchants or on the market, but the mere holding of a Card will not confer them. To enjoy the Rights of the Citizen, you must be a Citizen. Thus, one Citizen's civic Card will be invalid in the hands of another. Stealing a civic Card will, therefore, be useless. However, a civic Card may be lost, like any other object ; it may also be rendered invalid by a computer error. In either case, the Citizen will be temporarily prevented from entering the market, but, basically, he will not lose anything. Because, unlike merchants, the City will have other means than the civic Card to verify an individual's Citizenship and will easily and quickly solve the problem, as quickly as our banks do to provide a customer with a new credit card. After a slight inconvenience and a few steps, the Citizen will recover all his Rights. (Moreover, it would be enough for Citizens to have two cards, including one emergency card, so that the problem does not even arise.)

This is not the case with credit cards and currency. In addition to the fact that an individual's rights in a monetary system are generally and significantly less than those of a Citizen, the loss or theft of a credit card presents the risk that the person who finds it or has stolen it will use it and squander the person's monetary units. Banks are now reimbursing all or part of these misappropriations. The disadvantage is therefore reduced for victims, but the interest remains high for thieves. On the other hand, losing or having one's monetary units stolen (in any form whatsoever and by any means other than the fraudulent use of credit cards) leads (to the benefit of the thief, in the event of theft) to a proportional loss of rights, which is often irreparable and sometimes dramatic for the victim.

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Before we continue, let us clear up once and for all the confusion surrounding the notion of a means of exchange.

A means of exchange is, by definition, the medium that allows exchanges or the circulation of products. Currency is the medium of exchange of the monetary system. Contrary to appearances, credit cards are therefore not a means of exchange. They are only a means of manipulating the currency that alone embodies rights. A credit card in an individual's hands is only a piece of plastic if the individual doesn't have a bank account or if the account is empty. In a monetary system, one can, therefore, do without a card but not without credits (in the sense of monetary units). So then, what about the civic Card, which on the one hand will appear to replace credit cards, but on the other hand, will not embody the Rights of the Citizen, unlike currency ? Not having the properties of the latter, can we nevertheless say that it will be a means of exchange ?

These questions only make sense if one assumes that an object, to be a means of exchange, must itself be exchanged, if one doesn't understand that an object can be a means of exchange while operating according to a logic other than monetary logic. However, the character of an object as a means of exchange does not depend on its functioning, but on its purpose. An object is a means of exchange when it's essential for individuals to access the market and transforms into private property, in the eyes of the system, the goods acquired through it, since it allows the circulation of products and therefore the exchange between people. This is the case with currency. It will also be for the civic Card. In practice, the latter will have nothing in common with currency ; it will nevertheless, in principle, be a means of exchange.

Let us now discard the false idea that immediately comes to the minds of the capitalists (57) when they apprehend the concept of a civic Card, namely that with it everything will be free, in other words, that everything will be accessible without exchanging currency, therefore in exchange for nothing. But is it because there will be no exchange of currency between consumers and

(57) For Civism, a capitalist is any individual who relates to the misconceptions inspired by the monetary system and is attached to these misconceptions, any individual who defends, even indirectly, Money or fights, in one way or another, Equality and the principle of the civic Card. In short, anyone who is not a Patrician is a capitalist.

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traders that Citizens will access the City's market in exchange for nothing and that everything will be free for them ? No ! To be able to access the market, an individual must be a Citizen, i. e. have participated in the life of the City and contributed, like all its fellow Citizens, to the general production. A Citizen will, therefore, pay nothing in retail, but nothing will be free for him since he'll have to deserve by his participation, by his efforts, by his Labor, by his devotion to the City, the Right to access everything. In short, the City will be a kind of club : everyone will have to contribute strongly to get in, but once inside, everything will be accessible at will. Under capitalism, this formula exists and is called a « package ».

The problem with capitalists is their inability to see in « Citizens » anything other than individuals, whereas only Citizens should be seen in the individuals who make up the City. This inability is obviously due to the origin and use of currency. In any case, they are unable to understand the social dimension of individuals and exchanges. For them, consumers and traders are the only individuals concerned by their exchange. However, it is enough to ignore currency to realize that before being consumers, individuals participate in the life of the City generally by working in a company, that it is from this participation that they have the right to access the market, and that traders, for their part, market the product of the City's companies to which their customers belong. Overall, by accessing the market, the Citizens are therefore only accessing and distributing their products, the production of each other, the production of the City. Whether or not consumers have currency, whether or not they give currency to traders, Citizens always exchange their respective products indirectly.

Yet, it may be said, insofar as merchants or companies will not receive anything from their customers in exchange for their products or services, they could well exempt themselves from verifying their Citizenship, not recording sales, allowing individuals to access the market without being Citizens, thus creating a major dysfunction that puts the City at risk. When we also know that merchants will no longer own their goods but will simply be custodians in the eyes of the City (58), everything suggests that they will not be very cautious.

(58) Merchants are in the same situation with their suppliers as their customers are with them. This applies both to the monetary system and the City, with the

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This will not be the case. There are three reasons for this. The first is that conscious of the Principles of the City or even only as Citizens, merchants will like everyone else have the deepest contempt for able-bodied individuals who will not participate in the life of the City. To defeat these individuals, they will control their customers. The second is that there is no reason to believe that merchants will accept to work for customers who would not work and who, in a way, would make fools of them. To avoid falling into that trap, they will control their customers. Finally, the third and most decisive reason is that the very interest of merchants will be to control their customers, validate their purchases and record their sales.

For the City to be assured of compliance with its Principles, it must be in the interest of individuals to respect them. But, by nature, individuals only have an ear for the voice of what they perceive as their interest. It is therefore futile to expect them to give priority to the general interest on a permanent or willing basis if it is contrary to their particular interests. For the particular and general interest to be confused, it is neither to expect nor to advocate that individuals should rise to the consciousness of the general interest, in disregard of their particular interest, but rather to ensure that, pursuing their particular interest, they satisfy at the same time and without realizing it the general interest (59). This is impossible in a monetary system and seems to be compromised in the City where merchants, naturally driven like everyone else to

difference that, in the former, payment makes merchants the owners of their goods who have the right to demand payment in exchange and, in the latter, since they do not pay, they cannot either own them vis-à-vis their customers (they will nevertheless be their legal custodians), or demand a payment that Citizens would not even know how to make. The vicious or virtuous nature of the circle in which individuals or Citizens are fatally imprisoned therefore depends on the nature of the means of exchange. The Principles of Civicism are therefore as inapplicable in a monetary system as the capitalist arguments on gratuitousness will be meaningless in the City.

(59) Anyone who ignores the nature, role, and effects of Money is forced to argue the opposite, to demand that the masses make sacrifices - that is, to demand that individuals act, not in their own interests, but in the public interest - and to ultimately advocate State Terror, since individuals can't accept these sacrifices on their own for long. Thus, Gramsci, founder, theorist and leader of the Italian Communist Party, in a letter to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, wrote : « *It [the proletariat] cannot maintain its hegemony and dictatorship, even once constituted as a ruling class, if it does not sacrifice its immediate interests to the class' general and permanent interests.* » (Essentiel, Editions sociales, 1983, p. 90)

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make the slightest effort possible, could do without exercising control that apparently will not bring them anything.

But this means forgetting that the merchants themselves will be Citizens, will need to be, and that their Citizenship will depend on the observation that the City will make of their activity. But how will the City see it ? Through their sales (and purchases) which, through the use of civic Cards, will be automatically recorded in a database. In other words, a merchant who does not validate his customers' purchases, who does not control their Citizenship, artificially reduces his results and compromises his Citizenship or at least exposes himself to sanctions (60). Why would anyone take that risk ? (61) The rules of the game will change, but human nature will not change that much ! It is therefore out of personal interest that he or she will indirectly satisfy the general interest.

(60) It will, therefore, be up to the merchants to take the necessary steps to, on the one hand, have customers and, on the other hand, prove to the City that they have customers. How will they be able to get customers ? First, by carefully choosing their merchandise, a desirable and desired merchandise, and second, by loving trade, in short, by doing what the City will recognize in them as merchants and Citizens. Thus, in a hurry to sell through the City and the Citizens as consumers, they will themselves put pressure on the producers who, to sell, will also have to produce quality products. We are talking about traders in the traditional sense of the word. But everything we say is valid for any company, because any company is a business, whether it sells its products or goods purchased from a third party. Every Citizen is in a way a merchant because he must sell what he produces. To demand that every merchant sell, and not just open his store or produce, is, therefore, to demand that every Citizen effectively participate in the life of the City and put his heart into the work. To demand only that he produces, to neglect that he sells, would indirectly allow him to do his job and plunge the City into mediocrity and oblivion.

(61) The civic Card which, in the first place and in accordance with the Principles, will allow Citizens to attest their Citizenship at any time and in any place and thus to assert their Rights, will therefore present other kinds of interests. From a practical point of view, it will enable the City to effortlessly monitor the activity of merchants, who, by validating their customers' purchases, will know at any time the status of their stocks. The civic Card will have yet another interest, this time psychological, that of provoking the desire, especially among young people, to possess one so that they can proudly display it and thus become Citizens by doing whatever it takes. Adults who have had one for a long time will no longer pay attention to it, but the interest of the civic Card is conceivable in comparison to the hypothesis of a system without a Card. In such a system, in addition to being unmanageable and doomed to bankruptcy (unless only the Cards have disappeared and the system still works in the same way via biometric fingerprints), individuals would feel the psychological need to have visible proof of their Citizenship, a need that the civic Card will fill and that, as a result, Citizens will not test.



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There is, therefore, nothing to worry about : merchants will do their Duty, requiring all individuals living in the City, without any intervention on the part of the City, to do theirs to be Citizens and have a valid civic Card. It will be impossible to live in the City without being a Citizen, as becoming and remaining a Citizen is within everyone's reach.

I can already hear the comments that some people will make, namely that there will always be smart people who will be able to avoid their Duties and enjoy the benefits of Citizenship without being Citizens. But it is easier to do this kind of free-thinking than to support them. Indeed, no hypothesis can withstand a quick analysis. For our part, we will consider three of them, that of thieves, leeches, and counterfeiters.

The case of non-Citizen individuals living on theft is to be ruled out because, without the help of currency, this will be impossible. In addition to the fact that thieves will no longer have any excuse and will always be prosecuted, it will no longer be possible to sell the product of a theft than to steal all day to satisfy one's personal needs without being immediately apprehended. Moreover, Citizenship will bring in infinitely more than robbery, destroying its interest.

The case of individuals behaving like leeches, that is, living indefinitely at the expense of a Citizen, is also purely theoretical. A Citizen, by his enormous purchasing power, will be able to provide for the basic needs of a leech. But why would he/she accept that someone else swallows himself at his own expense while he/she fulfills his Duties ? Moreover, the freedom of a leech will be extremely limited since, having no legal existence and therefore no Right, he/she will not be able to do anything without the presence of his/her guardian who is the only one who can use his/her civic Card, which will be the opposite of the desired objective for him/her. In other words, a leech will literally live on the back of a Citizen, which will quickly become unbearable for both of them, although for different reasons.

Finally, the case of counterfeiters, individuals making false civic Cards or creating false accounts, seems more realistic because it is more elaborate but is just as unrealistic. On the one hand, the use of a Card will constitute an identity check with the City's database, which will make it impossible to impersonate anyone else or create a fictitious account without the City's

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knowledge, and on the other hand, not all purchases can be made using fake Cards - the Internet being today the main theater of fraud of this kind - which will require counterfeiters to have a real civic Card and therefore to be Citizens. Thus, assuming that fraud is technically possible, it will not only be useless, because only Citizens with no reason to commit fraud will live in the City but also dangerous because Citizens will have no reason to commit fraud, the City will be merciless to scammers.

Thus, everyone should be pleased that the Principles of the social order will soon be in line with the order of things. However, there is no doubt that, far from rejoicing, the detractors of Civism will fight it, by all means, starting with bad faith. We have just seen that the City will have to rely on computers to see the light of day. Precisely ! They will present it as an overly controlling computer-based system. They will, therefore, describe the civic Card as a police instrument (62), and the City as a dictatorship. The advent of Equality will, according to them, be nothing more than a new and appalling tyranny.

Because it will allow the City to know, so to speak, the slightest movements of its Citizens, the civic Card would be the pillar of a dictatorship ! ? The properties of the civic Card will be comparable to those of credit cards. Nevertheless, Civism does not invent the smart card system ; it is this system, conceived under capitalism, that makes the City possible. Similarly, the City will not set up the necessary infrastructures for the use of civic Cards ; it will take advantage of those already put in place by capitalism for credit cards. If therefore, the possibilities of the civic Card system appear virtually dangerous, we must denounce the credit card system ; we must denounce, not Civism, which is, for the moment, only a theory, but capitalism, which is a reality. But the mad capitalists will be careful not to draw attention to their tyranny. As jealous defenders of freedom, they will constantly proclaim

(62) The civic Card will have nothing to do with the civic certificates issued to « patriots » during the French Revolution. Certificates of good citizenship, essential for the acts of daily life, were then issued by notorious assemblies or patriots and were supposed to be a pledge of morality and patriotism. The civic Card, on the other hand, will be in a way the salary of the Citizens. Anyone who works or participates in the life of the City will get it. We will also see that, concerning the employees of a company, it will not be delivered on a case-by-case basis, but in mass, which would be absurd if it were to be the guarantee of the individuals' morality.

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against the civic Card and its alleged libticial risks, to make people forget their credit card, which, praised for its convenience, is on the way to giving capitalist oppression a formidable effectiveness.

Some, however, will not be fooled by this hypocrisy and will use their fight against the very credit card system to attack Civism and the civic Card with even greater enthusiasm. At least they will be consistent with themselves and will have the excuse to have some principles ! But is capitalism retreating from their attacks ? In other words, do their statements slow down the trend towards the exclusive use of credit cards ? No ! So what's the point of resisting the inevitable ? The question is not to prevent the card system and everything that goes with it from being set up, since it is being set up anyway, but to find out how this system, once set up and triumphant, can serve a different purpose than that envisaged by its original promoters, but to imagine how this infrastructure can free Humanity from Mony instead of making it more vulnerable to it.

We have seen how far the relevance of the comparison between credit cards and civic Cards goes. Yes, the civic Card will be used as a credit card. But no ! The civic Card will not be a credit card. How can we attribute its vices and dangers to it under these conditions ? There is undoubtedly a great danger that capitalism, with credit cards, will gain supreme control over our lives. Because, under the pretext of tracking down criminals, it will also close the door on legitimate fraud and thus close the few areas of freedom that the monetary system has so far suffered in silence. There will then no longer be any way for individuals to illegally acquire or retain even legitimate rights. They will only have the share of rights that capitalism recognizes them and will leave them. In other words, with credit cards, individuals will be bound in front of the State, banks, insurance companies, etc., in short, in front of anyone who has the power to demand from them, in Mony's name, a payment, even if it is not justified, and will also be free to withdraw it without the consent of the person concerned and whatever the consequences may be for to him/her. This prospect is indeed frightening (63). But what does this have to do with the civic Card ?

(63) Jacques Attali could not have developed better the extreme consequences of capitalism, and therefore of Mony, in *A Brief History of the Future* (Arcade Publishing, 2009). See its concept of Hyperempire, p. 241.

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The City, through institutions applying the law, will have the right to grant or not the civic Card, in other words, to recognize or not the Citizenship. But is this Right abusive or indisputable ? How can the City be denied the Right to choose who is part of it and to whom it guarantees Rights ? A union implies two people, and the City is one of the parties. The right of an individual to refuse to be a Citizen is as indisputable as the City's right to refuse an individual Citizenship. But the question is above all to know if the Citizens, through the civic Card, will be oppressed, since this is the assumption that follows from the accusation of tyranny.

Once an individual is admitted to be a Citizen, he or she will have the civic Card and will, therefore, have free access to the market. However, as long as he or she is a Citizen, nothing can interfere with this freedom. At best, in the event of abuse in a specific field, can the City put limits to the ardor of the said Citizen, but these limits will be almost external to the purchasing power conferred by the civic Card so that a constraint in one field will in no way hinder its consumption in others. But, one might say, the City could very well set limits to the purchasing power of the Citizen in all areas ? This would indeed be possible in theory, but in reality, it would mean so many limits to conceive and establish as there will be fields of application of the Right of access, that is, an infinite number. Why should the City impose itself such a penalty to oppress an individual ? ! For, it goes without saying that this could only be done for individuals and not for all Citizens, in which case the said limits would not be exceptions, but equal laws for all, unbearable laws that Citizens will certainly not be willing to impose on themselves. In any case, it must be admitted that such an undertaking would not only be absurd but would be singularly complicated for the City, whereas, to achieve the same goal, and with even greater efficiency, it is sufficient, under capitalism, to reduce an individual's income. In other words, it will be almost impossible for the City to do what a capitalist state can do naturally and without difficulty.

In fact, even if the City sets limits in particular areas to compensate for the lack of common sense of some, which in practice will not hinder the movements of reasonable Citizens, it will not be part of its philosophy to restrict the purchasing power of Citizens, because all the wonders of Equality must flow precisely from the Freedom that accompanies it. It should also be noted

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that setting limits to the purchasing power of Citizens will be a striking act for the City, whereas, under capitalism, violating the rights of individuals is a daily act that goes unnoticed. (As proof, few people realize that currency is the essential vector of rights and that paying or being poorly paid is nothing less than being stripped of a part of it.) How can we believe that the City can do by using the civic Card, against all its Principles, what it is in the nature of capitalism to do by using currency and credit cards without the detractors of Civism being moved by it ?

For those who are afraid that the City will suspend Citizenship at will, in other words, to revoke or invalidate the civic Cards, think that this will amount to suspending not just some Rights but all the Rights of the persons concerned. Undoubtedly, the City will have the right to do so in certain cases (64). But a decision with such serious consequences cannot be taken lightly. The Citizen in question must have been guilty of serious misconduct or crimes that are unforgivable in the eyes of his fellow Citizens. Otherwise, such a decision will seem so excessive that the victim will not only be able to legitimately protest but will also receive massive support from his outraged and potentially threatened fellow Citizens like him with such an arbitrary act. The suspension of Citizenship will, therefore, be a possible but exceptional sanction.

Does this mean that the City will have no way of punishing the faults that deserve to be punished without deserving such an extreme sanction ? It will certainly not be able to deprive Citizens of some of their Rights, which in this case would no longer be Citizens since Citizens must be equal in Rights, but there are other ways to sanction them, no less dissuasive in practice and more in accordance with the Principles. That being said, we will deal with this issue later (see Part II, Chapter 4, Retirement).

Let us only remember that the City will have neither the means nor the desire nor even the idea to constantly undermine the purchasing power of the Citizens (unlike capitalism which, apart from prison, does not conceive of any other form of punishment). The civic Card will therefore not be used to manipulate or conceal Rights, but on the contrary to guarantee Citizens the entirety of their Rights and to prevent some from usurping them. Let us

(64) The suspension of Citizenship may take different forms, more or less severe : temporary invalidation of the civic Card, temporary detention de facto suspending Citizenship, permanent invalidation of the civic card or banishment, perpetual detention.

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always bear in mind that the civic Card will be a card without credits but with Principles, that it will assert Equality, not inequality as credit cards, and that, by nature, the effects of Equality cannot have anything in common with those of inequality. In a nutshell, the civic Card, despite appearances, will be to the credit card (and to the currency) what a vaccine is to a virus.

All these questions about the civic Card are but scarecrows. They are only made to distract from real issues and deny the obvious. Either the City Principles are right and must be applied as Civism advocates, or they are absurd and there is no need to ask how else to apply them. Let the critics of Civism demonstrate its absurdity, hoping that they will reveal to us at the same time the sublime social principles of capitalism ! For our part, we pose as fair and irrefutable the Principle that Citizens must be equal in Duties and Rights, in particular, equal in the Duty to participate in the life of the City and equal in the Right to enjoy its benefits. It does not matter to the City, which guarantees the Rights, to know who they are, what they are ; only what they do for it and to deserve them : their Duty. Therefore, the Right to enjoy the benefits of the City, equal for all Citizens, is based on Citizenship, itself on having participated in the life of the City. The City must, therefore, be able to both establish that this Duty has been fulfilled and allow its Citizens to exercise this Right, in other words, to assert their Citizenship. If the Citizens know each other, the problem is solved. If there are too many Citizens to know each other, the City theoretically has only three solutions : it can trust the statements of individuals who claim to have fulfilled their Duty and to be Citizens ; it can adopt a system of written certificates ; it can use the civic Card.

The first solution would undoubtedly be wonderful, but it presupposes virtuous people. Let us hope that one day they will become so. Until then, let's challenge ourselves and consider that they always act out of interest. As far as written certificates are concerned, they would not only be identity documents, but also certificates of Citizenship which, since they must be permanently earned, are never definitive. In other words, these papers should be perpetually renewed. Moreover, they would in no way make it possible to control either the participation of Citizens or the activity of companies and merchants, which should be done by agents. In short, this solution would lead to delays, give way to falsification, counterfeiting, and corruption, demand a repressive army and

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collapse under an inefficient, unbearable and deadly bureaucracy. Therefore, only the civic Card remains a seriously possible solution. In fact, once capitalism is over, it will be impossible to apply the Principles in any other way, on the one hand, because it will be impossible to ensure more simply the customers' Citizenship and the companies' activity, and on the other hand, because the civic Card will be the natural evolution of the credit card.

It is obvious to anyone who has eyes, that the infrastructure necessary for the City will be no more or less than that put in place by capitalism, particularly in France, which certifies that Civism is on the right track. Thus, switching from credit cards to civic Cards will certainly require political will, of which the Patricians will not lack, but will not encounter any or few technical difficulties. It should also be noted that the fundamental principle of the civic Card, which is to link rights to a status, is already in force, although limited to a particular field, health, with the « Carte Vitale » (health card) which allows workers (65) to access medical care. The badges issued to employees of certain companies also operate according to a principle even closer to that of the civic Card, which allows Citizens unlimited access to the market, since they allow them to enter and leave the company's premises at will because, as the holder of this badge, they are supposed to be part of it. Then, as a tangible sign of future times, let us observe that French identity cards are now the size of credit cards as if to better prepare ourselves for the upcoming merger of both. Finally, and this is wrong, but many already use credit cards as a means of exchange for the monetary system, and this error will become more widespread as their use becomes more and more exclusive and the currency becomes more and more virtual. That a card becomes the medium of exchange, the day when currency loses all credit, will therefore not be a revolution... on the surface !

The civic Card. This is what Civism believes must be, and what will be the means of exchange of the City and the pillar of Equality.

(65) The civic Card will be a health card conferring a wider purchasing power. It might, therefore, seem more appropriate to compare them, instead of always comparing it with the credit card, which is not even a means of exchange. However, it will indeed be the place of credit cards that the civic Card, a real means of exchange, will take, hence the relevance of the comparison.

### 3. Citizenship / Nationality

Not only is the term *Citizen* not obsolete, but it is in the making.

In times when, with few exceptions, humans were in their infancy, lived and died in the same place, among the same people, Citizenship and Nationality could and were confused. But at a time when they can move around the world without ever settling somewhere, when Humanity is not yet, far from it, a Society, these two concepts, different by nature, must be distinguished.

The City, which is all Citizens, can only exist physically and morally through its members. The body of the City is necessarily constituted by its Citizens, that is, by all the individuals who participate concretely in the life of the social body. But the soul of the City, on the other hand, emanates from the Citizens who consciously merge with it, who do not envisage linking their destiny to another City than it, who identify themselves with it, in short, individuals who, in the depths of their hearts, want to share its glory and mourn its misfortunes.

Thus, although all Citizens are bound to each other by the Social Contract, some Citizens feel viscerally bound to the City, while some see in this link only the interest they can draw from it. The bond that unites the former to the City is indissoluble, while the latter would hasten to break it at the slightest blow, and may even break it on a whim. The latter are opportunists, makeshift citizens ; the former, Citizens in the soul who follow the inclinations of their hearts. At least this is the point of view of the City because the latter may have the same honorable feelings as the former, but towards another City, which the City does not have to take into account.

The City, therefore, conceals within its midst only one category of Citizens, but two species of individuals : those who are attached to it and on whom it can count in all circumstances and those who have only indifference for it and are likely to leave it at any time, especially in the event of danger. As Citizens, as individuals who effectively participate in the life of the City, all



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must enjoy the benefits of the City as a result of such participation. But who founded this City which recognizes such a Right for all, a Right that it is certainly fair to recognize and which nevertheless has never been recognized before ? Who supports this City that guarantees it ? Individuals who are indifferent to it and enjoy what is, or loyal individuals, patriots, who confuse their lives with it and are ready to make all sacrifices for it ? The answer is obvious and the immediate consequence is that it is no more up to selfish individuals to found a City than it is to makeshift Citizens to preserve it. In other words, being distant from the City is not a crime, it does not take anything away from Citizenship, but the City cannot be fooled and must recognize to those who go further in their Duties towards it additional Rights, particular Rights.

These particular Duties and Rights will be linked to what Civism calls Nationality. Let us note that these will be *special* Duties and Rights, and not *fundamental* Duties and Rights. As the fundamental Rights of the Citizens are linked to Citizenship, all Citizens, whether or not they are naturalized, will be fundamentally equal in Duties and Rights. The special Rights that the Nationality will confer following the fulfillment of special Duties will not be taken into account when it comes to establishing equality between Citizens since these Duties and Rights will be independent of Citizenship.

There will, therefore, be in the City, in this case, the City of France, ordinary Citizens and national Citizens, in other words, Citizens of France and French Citizens. All will have made the choice of Citizenship, all will participate in the City of France, but only French Citizens will have made the choice of French Nationality and thus expressed their physical and moral attachment to the City. Others may have any nationality they wish, or even none at all, since their fundamental Rights, the Rights necessary for their daily lives, will be guaranteed by Citizenship. It should also be noted that Nationality, like Citizenship, will also be a choice. The separation between Citizens of France and French Citizens will, therefore, be a matter of individual will and not of insipid and outdated concepts of *ius sanguini* or *ius soli*.

Of course, for such a choice to be free, it must not be determined by interests other than those of the heart. In theory, only individuals who feel French in their soul should want French

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Nationality. On the other hand, a foreigner who is proud of his origins and feels he or she belongs to a country other than the French People should not ask for it. But the Rights related to Nationality, which we will discuss below, could disturb this reasoning. This is the reason why naturalization should be subject to conditions, and Nationality should imply Duties. Then the City will be as sure as possible of the feelings that will animate the candidate towards it, or at least of his or her devotion.

Let us insist that the conditions in question will not take away from the fact that the Nationality will be the object of a free choice because they will be such that anyone who feels French or wants to become French with all his heart can fulfill them (66). Citizens

(66) The conditions for naturalization will inevitably have an identity and cultural character since it will be a question of allowing individuals to integrate a given Nation, i. e. a national community. However, there is no community without language, culture, traditions, knowledge and common values. It is not a question of whether one culture is better or superior to another, but whether individuals from different cultures who are more marked by their origins than by their attachment to the Nation in which they live can form a national community. Nor is it a question of requiring members of a national community to be clones, but of understanding that they must agree on several things to form one. Of course, individuals who have grown up in the City, immersed in its culture, will have little or no effort to make to satisfy the conditions of naturalization. Citizens of foreign origin and to a lesser extent their children will have more difficulties because they will have to adopt part of a foreign culture and renounce the part of their culture of origin that makes them foreign in the eyes of nationals. No one can claim to be part of a community whose codes they do not know, let alone reject them. Conversely, a community cannot recognize as its individuals who are no different from strangers and in whom it does not recognize itself. In the context of a community, it is individuals, particularly immigrants, who, like guests vis-à-vis their host, must adapt to it if they want to be part of it. And it should not be claimed that requiring immigrants to renounce part of their culture by will or force is a xenophobic, racist, fascist and other grandiloquent and obsolete policy, because, on the one hand, it is intended to facilitate their « integration », that is, their acceptance by nationals, and thus to prevent « discrimination », i. e. in other words the rejection to which they will certainly be subjected if they do not consent to this effort, on the other hand, it would be paradoxical, not to say demagogic, to find it normal for immigrants to perpetuate their culture of origin, and illegitimate for the host community to preserve their own. « Integration » cannot consist in not imposing anything on immigrants and at the same time demanding, in the name of « anti-racism », that nationals accept everything from them (infinite and one-sided « tolerance » is madness, if not the pretext of anti-patriotism and, in the present case, of anti-Westernism, anti-France, even of anti-white racism that does not even have the courage to say its name. Any excess is bad. Anyone who advocates one, in any field, is either an idiot, a coward, a scoundrel or a traitor.) It is also futile to want to tackle discrimination against immigrants as long as nationals feel, rightly or wrongly, that the state does not control immigration. Now, we can always bury our heads in the sand and believe that a national community is evidence or

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will, therefore, have the choice between agreeing to fulfill the Duties of the French Citizen or being satisfied with Citizenship. But will it be said that this choice will not be free in practice for certain Citizens of foreign origin who either do not satisfy the conditions required for naturalization because they will make no effort in this direction or refuse to renounce their former Nationality, the City not being able to recognize the principle of dual nationality ? No doubt, but will it be the fault of the City if they are more attached to their culture of origin than to its own if they feel more foreign than French ? Nationality shall be the prerogative of Citizens belonging to the national community. Why would the City remove the basic conditions to belong to it on behalf of Citizens who, precisely, will not want to be part of it ? That would be absurd ! As for the idea of treating Citizens of foreign origin differently from others, in addition to being contrary to all the Principles and as absurd as the previous one, it would be both offensive to those who will make the necessary efforts to integrate the Nation, that is, to no longer be perceived by it as foreigners, and to threaten the cohesion of the national community, on the one hand, by allowing the intrusion of elements that have nothing to do with it, and on the other hand, by blurring the markers of national Citizens.

Let us note the common denominator between Citizenship and Nationality, namely that they will both be associated with Duties and Rights. It follows that Nationality, like Citizenship, will not be given, as it is today, nor forever acquired, except for those who will always fulfill their Duties. There is nothing more aristocratic and contrary to the republican spirit than to base Rights on birth or pedigree ! Children will therefore neither be Citizens nor French in the literal sense. Certainly, a child born in France or of French parents, impregnated with French culture, will *a priori* be willing to become so himself one day. In the meantime, and as long as he is a minor, the City will see in him a child of France and not a French, even if the misuse of language seems inevitable. But if this individual, once an adult, capable of making and assuming choices, does not ask to be naturalized, he will never be French. Now, except for the impossibility of being naturalized as a minor,

oppression. The truth is that it can neither exist without voluntarism nor disintegrate without creating communitarianism or worse.

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there will be no age to become French, although it is unlikely that beyond a certain age an individual can deny his choices or a foreigner, his origins. Also, beyond a certain age, it will no longer be time to fulfill the Duties related to Nationality. With few exceptions, the City will not accede to late and opportunistic requests. In any case, all applications for naturalization will be examined, in the presence of the person involved, by a Local Commission representing the City, whose decisions will be immediate and without appeal (Cf. Part II, Chapter 6, The Commissions).

Naturalization must be a solemn and vibrant act. Since it is a question of entering a family, this process must have a concrete manifestation. An individual must be able to truly feel that he or she is now part of this family ; he or she must see it and almost touch it. Once an individual is admitted to become French, he or she will be invited to a collective ceremony called a naturalization ceremony. On a given day, in a given place, he or she will be gathered together with all the other candidates of the year. There, shoulder to shoulder with his or her future brothers and sisters, both spectator and actor of this grandiose and moving civic communion, he or she will swear to unite with them and all his or her fellow Citizens through the bonds of Duty and Fraternity. At the end of this ceremony (67), he or she will be temporarily French. We say *temporarily*, because having not yet fulfilled any Duty, attending this ceremony not being one in itself, he/she will not yet be able to enjoy or exercise the Rights of the French Citizen. He/she will, therefore, have a period of a few years to start fulfilling his/her Duties, after which time he/she will no longer be considered as French and will no longer even be able to claim French nationality.

It is here that we must specify the nature of the Rights related to Nationality, to understand the nature and interest of the special Duties that will be the condition for their enjoyment.

A Citizen participates in the life of the City. This participation has a concrete impact. It generates the Right to enjoy the benefits of the City, a Right that, on the market, will be exercised through

(67) At the end of this ceremony, each person will be given a copy of the Constitution in force and a flag marked in gold letters with the motto of the Republic of *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*. Those two things should be found in every French home.

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the civic Card. In other words, the Duty to participate in the life of the City as well as the Right to enjoy its benefits, in a word, Citizenship, will concern the economic field. Nationality, on the other hand, will mainly concern the political world.

Political Rights are those through which a Citizen can contribute *directly* to the formation or enforcement of laws. A law is only legitimate when it is first accepted en masse by those who must then submit to it individually. (Without this acceptance, it is not a law, but a diktat.) Citizens, therefore, have the inalienable right to contribute directly to the formation and application of the laws of their City. But, it shall be said, *Civism* only recognizes this Right to *naturalized* or *nationalized* Citizens. It's taking it away from the others ! Yes, but for the same reason. For what underlies the Right to contribute to the formation of laws is precisely the moral obligation to submit to them once they are adopted.

National Citizens, having affirmed their desire to live forever in the City and under its laws, will have this obligation, but not Citizens who will not only not be naturalized but who *will not want* to be naturalized. Why would the City recognize the Right of the latter to contribute to the formation of laws to which they may never be subject ? Not feeling deeply connected to the City, being able to decide to leave at any time, there is no guarantee that they will be concerned about forging good ones or that they will still be there once the ones they helped to have adopted will be in force ! Similarly, assuming that the laws of the City are bad, there is no guarantee that instead of fighting them, as the interest will command national Citizens, these individualists will not find elsewhere, ready-made, laws more to their liking ! And above all, Citizens who do not want to be naturalized, who feel like *world* Citizens or who love a country other than the City, do not have at heart to defend the interests of the Nation, consider problems from a foreign point of view, and would inevitably seek (consciously or not) to make foreign interests prevail, through the laws, at the expense of national interests. This is why they have no legitimacy to contribute to the formation of laws, and why a City of sound mind cannot recognize such a Right. On the other hand, their presence will attest that the laws made by national and equal Citizens for all are not so unpleasant to them.

Only national Citizens will, therefore, have the Right to vote (at any political level, since a Principle no longer exists if it is violated at all) and the Right to be elected. For the same reasons, they

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alone can serve the laws or be their instruments and therefore occupy certain functions.

It should be noted that all Citizens will have the Right to contribute to the formation of laws, but only National Citizens will have the Right to contribute *directly* to them, that is, at least by voting. The fact that you do not have the Right to vote will not prevent you from speaking, publishing your thoughts, meeting, demonstrating, etc., all actions that can influence legislation without being political Rights in the strict sense of the word.

Finally, there is a Right which, without being political, must, by principle or according to the size of the City's territory, be linked to Nationality: the Right to land or, more precisely, to the occupation of the land for private purposes. The Right of a Citizen is to be housed, and the City will even have the duty to guarantee them housing. But the specificity of housing is to consume space, and this consumption varies considerably according to the type of housing, depending on whether it is apartments or individual houses and villas. It is possible to build an infinite number of apartments vertically; the number of single-family homes is limited by the surface of the City. However, villas, without being vital, are often an object of desire. Who is entitled to it? It all depends, as we have said, on the size of the City's territory. If its territory is extremely small compared to its population: no one. If it's huge: everyone. If it is neither large nor small, national Citizens - most of them destined to live in the territory of the City - must at best have priority, at worst exclusivity of the Right to land. A priori, France is in the latter case. Its territory, taking into account the space necessary for crops, various infrastructures, industry, businesses, collective housing, etc., taking into account also areas where it is not possible/allowed to build, protected natural areas, environmental projects, etc., will not allow even national Citizens themselves to all have their own single house. A fortiori, it would be unfair and immoral to grant this pleasure to those who could find it elsewhere! National Citizens will, therefore, have a Right over others that, in many cases, they will not be able to enjoy themselves, but that it is nevertheless legitimate to reserve for them.

Access to housing, at least to villas, will not be through the civic Card. Because the problem of villas is not the villas themselves, but the space they occupy, the land they require. However, land that is not a production cannot be a commodity. It

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will therefore not be available on the market. Besides, it belongs exclusively to the City. Occupying it will therefore never mean owning it (Cf. Part II, Chapter 9, Land, Space, and Housing).

All these Rights, you will have to want them and deserve them. Theoretically, there is only one Duty that can generate political Rights : to defend the City, because defending it is the only action that brilliantly testifies attachment to it. But how can this Duty be fulfilled in peacetime, when war has become unlikely ? It would also be a paradox if a City, exalting the Fraternity, saw in the fratricides the only way for its Citizens to do their Duty ! It is, therefore, necessary, as always, to start from the Principle but to consider new forms. What is this Principle ? To serve the City, to accept sacrifices for it. There are undoubtedly other sacrifices to be made to the City than that of its life or physical integrity. Civism, therefore, opts for the Principle of a National Service.

Any French Citizen will be required to perform a National Service among all possible National Services. They will be able to choose between military Service, civilian Service, humanitarian Service, etc., although any Service will have to include a minimum of military training and first aid training and, except for humanitarian Service, contribute in one way or another to the defense of the City (68). The Service will last a minimum of one year. The National Citizen may only exercise his political Rights once his year of Service has been completed. But he will not be finished with his Service. Every year and for fifteen years (for example) he will owe the City two weeks of his time or more if he so wishes. He will perform these weeks of Service near his home,

(68) Basically, the City will consider the National Service less as a military necessity (all the Services will not be military, although all will have a relationship with the defense of the City) than as an initiatory rite, as a republican and patriotic tradition, as an experience intended to strengthen among all those who have shared it the feeling of belonging to the Nation that they will equally serve, as an opportunity for some to become adults, to learn to obey, to command, to live in community, to respect others, etc. As for military Service, let us say, with Rousseau, that the City will institute it « *rather to maintain in them[the Citizens] that fighter spirit and that pride of courage which suits freedom so well and which nourishes its taste rather than by the need to provide for their defense.* » (Discourse on the origin and foundations of inequality among men, To the Republic of Geneva)

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in a local group called *Reserve* (69). These weeks will generally be used to practice and perfect what he has learned during his year of Service, but also to learn how to deal with an impromptu call from the City. The ordinary activities of the Reserves will be regulated and supervised by the *Reservist* Citizens themselves, unlike the annual Service supervised by Professional Citizens. However, a standing Citizen may be employed by the City for any useful purpose, just as all Citizens still bound by their obligations, or even all French Citizens, may be called in case of urgent need. A National Citizen who neglects his Service or ignores the City's calls will compromise his political Rights and thus his Nationality. That said, defending the City (*defending* the City and *not attacking* another City) will remain a fundamental Duty to which every French Citizen and even every Citizen of France (70) will be bound at the time of possible danger.

But a National Citizen will have other, more hypothetical Duties, such as assisting Justice as a juror, etc. These Duties will also require that naturalization be subject to conditions, including fluency in French and the ability to read and count. Because national Citizens must be able to fulfill their Duties as much as they must be able to exercise their political Rights. How, for example, could someone be a juror or vote if they do not understand the debates? Fulfilling such conditions would probably have been reserved for an elite in the past, but times

(69) The Reservists in each district will organize themselves. They will elect their leaders at will. They will decide on their activities within the framework of the law. They can only be mobilized, if necessary, by local officials or by the CPO (see Part II, chap. 1, The political framework), which will then decide under which higher authority they will be temporarily placed. Only the CPO may legislate on Reserves. It should also be noted that the Reserves will comprise two sections: the *Volunteer* corps, composed of Citizens who have performed national service other than military service, and the *national Guard*.

(70) Every Citizen has the fundamental Duty to defend the City. The City will only recognize political Rights to national Citizens who will fulfill certain Duties and will be the only ones to be requested in case of emergency. But ordinary Citizens of France may also be called by the City in the event of extreme danger (foreign invasion, etc.), because, although they do not enjoy political Rights, they will owe the City, enjoying all other Rights, and will, therefore, be concerned by its preservation. In these circumstances, Citizens who disregard the City's call will no longer be worthy of being Citizens and will, therefore, be stripped of their Citizenship, banished from the City, if they have not already cleared the premises. The same will apply to individuals who, although not Citizens, live on national territory (cf. Article X of the Declaration) and who, as a result, will benefit from the protection of the City, which they, in turn, will be required to defend.



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have changed and things must improve (71). An application for naturalization should, therefore, involve an examination of a few minutes, which is more than enough time for the Naturalization Commission to determine whether a claimant has the minimum required knowledge.

Finally, for the very honor of the French name, the naturalization or preservation of the Nationality will imply an existence free of proven crimes (72). Conversely, the City will always have the possibility of granting Nationality by an extraordinary decision to those who, through exemplary dedication, have done honor to the Nation or Humanity.

It must be understood that these nuances between Citizenship and Nationality will be essential in the City. Any individual and in particular any foreigner who participates in the life of the City will be a Citizen, whereas today, while citizenship and nationality are confused, he is not necessarily a French (73). We can even add

(71) The right to vote has long been conditional on being a landowner or paying a certain amount of taxes (the cens), arbitrary conditions that are both unfair. Today, it is, to top it off, subordinated on the one hand to having reached a certain age (18 years in France), as if this constituted a merit and could constitute a right, and on the other hand to being French, as if it had any meaning in the current state of affairs. In any case, this right is always subject to conditions. Now, of all the possible conditions, isn't loving the City and serving it the most logical and only legitimate one ?

(72) This condition already exists today. Offenders and criminals of French nationality are or may be deprived of their civil rights, i. e. what the City will call political Rights. They, therefore, retain their nationality. But what does it mean then under these conditions ?

(73) The confusion between citizenship and nationality is not specific to France. It is made everywhere. Thus, the Swiss Commission for justice and peace, in its report of the Swiss bishops' Conference on the Swiss Constitution in preparation in 1995, stated : « *From the point of view of political ethics, there is no argument to justify the fact that people who have lived here for long enough are excluded from the decision-making process, cannot assume their political responsibility or have the benefit of citizenship. [...] It would, therefore, be all the more important if, at least, provisions were introduced in the new Constitution that commit the Confederation to facilitate the naturalization of foreigners who have grown up in Switzerland and expressly allow the cantons and communes to introduce the right to vote for foreigners in matters within their jurisdiction.* » (La Suisse, Une belle, Constitution, Labor et Fides, 1997, p. 52, 53) It is clear that « citizenship » is understood here in the sense of Nationality, and that the concept of Citizenship, as advocated by Civism, does not exist. It is also inconsistent to claim political rights for foreigners and at the same time to claim facilities for them to acquire nationality. For, finally, to what should political rights be linked ? To Nationality

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that he or she is often exploited at the bottom of a cellar while, in the City, he or she will enjoy the Rights of the Citizen in broad daylight, since it will be impossible, through the civic Card, to deprive him or her of them (74). In short, it will be too easy to be a Citizen to be able to claim, in the name of Citizenship, Rights that only those individuals truly committed to the City and to everything it embodies will be worthy of. On the other hand, becoming French will not be insurmountable for anyone, even of foreign origin, who feels like a French soul or agrees to serve France. Finally, it should be known - and we will see this in the second part - that in the City, a true Democracy, the political Rights of the National Citizen will be much more extensive than those of the current French person (75), hence the need for the City not to put these Rights in any hands.

This is how Citizenship differs from Nationality and how, when clarified in this way, each of these concepts will take on its full meaning. Nevertheless, however irrefutable these Principles may be, there will be many leftists who will challenge them.

By simply hearing the term *Nationality*, these « world citizens » will start yapping. For them, there are no Nations or Cities. There is only Humanity. They despise the Nationality. Therefore, this retrograde and fascist concept should be abandoned. Like them, we should constantly claim Rights without ever feeling obliged,

(and the Duties that make it possible to preserve), or to the simple fact of living, even for a long time, on the City's territory ? It is one thing to allow all Citizens (regardless of their origin) to access the Nationality if they so wish and if they agree to fulfill the Duties that make it possible to preserve it ; it is another thing to advocate political rights for foreigners who may not have had the opportunity to acquire the Nationality but who would perhaps not want them if they had the choice and who, therefore, would not deserve to enjoy these rights. These rights are too important (especially in the City) to be granted to anyone out of excess of humanity.

(74) Foreigners allowed to immigrate will be Citizens of France, before becoming French Citizens if they want or can. They will be provided by the City with a civic Card. But there will be no illegal immigration into the City, because without its authorization, without a Card, it will be useless to come there and impossible to stay there. An illegal immigrant will have access to nothing, absolutely nothing, not even to undeclared work. Since he cannot be remunerated in any way whatsoever (he will not even be able to beg), he will have no interest in working.

(75) National Citizens will have special Duties, special Rights and Duties-Rights, that is, the exclusive Right to fulfill certain Duties. See in particular in Part II, Chapter 1 on the political organization of the City, and Chapter 6 on Commissions.

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even towards our neighbors, or only towards a Humanity without a face, without a voice, without demands. But what will be their legitimacy in the eyes of French Citizens at heart, aware of their Duties towards the City of France, aware of being the City beyond the simple fact of living within it ? Won't they appear to be saying to them : To us the Rights, to you the Duties ? What will they be able to answer when, in turn, the latter will retort to them precisely : No Right without Duty ? Perhaps they will think that the City, which should be theirs, will be less open than the others. But where will they find a City that, sensitive to their naivety, will recognize for them the Rights of which they will not even be worthy among their own ? Their speech will be an uninterrupted series of nonsense. They will display their contempt for the Nationality while claiming the Rights that characterize it because they will not renounce them. They will, therefore, claim from a City that they will disregard, Rights that they will not be prepared to support, Rights through the exercise of which a City exists when they will not want to guarantee any of them. In a word, they will want, as they say, to *have their cake and eat it too*.

Now, if they are logical with themselves and do not claim political Rights, it will be necessary that these Rights exist and that some enjoy them because on their exercise depends the existence of the City which only the existence can guarantee Rights of any kind. However, undoubtedly, the fact that they do not claim political Rights will not prevent them from claiming others, or even from deserving them. But by whom will these Rights be guaranteed if no one is attached to the City or if, in their opinion, everyone must detach themselves from it ? Finally, what is the point of hating the Nation for not having to fulfill Duties towards it since it will not force anyone to do so ? Let them, therefore, despise the Nationality and renounce the Rights that accompany it ! But in whose name should we deprive others, those for whom the City will not be nothing, those who will want to enjoy political Rights and do what is necessary to be worthy of them ?

That said, hearing that naturalization will be subject to conditions, other freaks of the same kind, probably the same ones, will protest against this « discriminatory » process and claim for all the Nationality which, if it were to be, would then no longer make any sense. In short, according to them, it is very possible to live without being French (which is true), but everyone will have to

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be ! They will undoubtedly recognize that « everyone » is an expression here that, in fact, only refers to individuals living in France. But will it be necessary to impose French Nationality on those who do not want to be French, while Civism recognizes the freedom of choice for all ? Will it be necessary to give it to those who will only be passing through the City, then it will confer important Rights ? Moreover, what Rights will they associate with Nationality if not those that Civism associates with it ? Will they not sooner or later be forced to recognize that these Rights cannot be provided blindly and without compensation, not because they fundamentally need to be generated but because they must nevertheless be earned and those who enjoy them must be able to exercise them ? In short, after having emptied the concept of Nationality of its meaning, they would be reduced to applying under another name, a less relevant name, the conceptions of Civism on Nationality, thus limiting the damage and saving face.

In Equality, the force of circumstances will lead to the adoption of the conceptions explicitly developed by Civism. So let's leave the sophists behind and summarize :

### CITIZENSHIP / NATIONALITY

1. Citizenship is economic and vital ; Nationality is political and sentimental.
2. Nationality, like Citizenship, will, under certain conditions, be the subject of a choice within the reach of any voluntary individual. It will be subject to the fulfillment of Duties and will confer particular Rights. It will be maintained by the constant fulfillment of the said Duties.
3. The City will not recognize the principle of dual nationality.
4. A *French Citizen* is any Citizen of France who has, in the first place, requested and obtained from the City the French Nationality, being able, in the second place, to keep it.
5. A *French Citizen* is any Citizen of France who has, in the first place, requested and obtained from the City the French Nationality, being able, in the second place, to keep it.
6. Acquiring the first civic Card, symbol of Citizenship, will be considered by the City as a tacit acceptance of the Social

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Contract, a copy of which will be given at the same time to each new Citizen of France.

**7 a.** Only Citizens of France who meet the conditions required by the City may claim French nationality.

**7 b.** Applications for naturalization will be examined in the presence of the person involved by local Commissions whose decisions will be immediate and without appeal.

**7 c.** The City will always have the possibility of derogating from its own rules in favor of Citizens of France and foreigners who have fought or performed exceptional services for it (76).

**8.** A Citizen whose application for naturalization is rejected by the Commission may reapply after two years.

**9.** The Citizens of France who attended the collective naturalization ceremony will be temporarily recognized as *French*, without yet enjoying the Rights attached to the Nationality.

**10.** Only Citizens who have completed their year of National Service (Service of which they have chosen the nature) and who subsequently fulfill all the Duties attached to the Nationality will enjoy the particular Rights of the French Citizen.

**11.** Military personnel and firemen engaged for at least 5 years, and some high-level athletes competing or likely to compete in national or international competitions, will be exempt from National Service.

**12 a.** In addition to the year of service, French Citizens will serve a yearly two weeks of Service (more if they so desire) for a minimum of fifteen years in their city or region. They will thus constitute a *Reserve* and be called *Reservists*.

**12 b.** Citizens who have completed a Military Service will constitute, within the Reserve Force, the *National Guard* Section. The others will form the *Volunteers* section.

**12 c.** Reservists will organize their activities and elect their section and reserve leaders.

(76) The Court of Public Opinion (see Part II, Chapter 1) will be the City's governing body in this matter.

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- 13.** French Citizens working abroad for the City or French companies will be exempted, if they so wish, from these weeks of Service, but will not then be able to exercise their political Rights.
- 14.** The special Duty of the French Citizen will be to answer any call from the City, either to serve it or to defend it.
- 15.** The special Rights of the French Citizen will be to be able to contribute directly to the creation or application of laws, to occupy the vital functions of the City and to represent it.
- 16.** Finally, considering the particular case of France, only French Citizens will have the right to occupy the land of the City for private purposes, i. e. to live in a detached house or villa.
- 17.** Conversely, it will be prohibited for any French Citizen to own real estate abroad.

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### **4. Duties and Rights of People, Citizens, and the City**

The Declaration of Duties and Rights derives from the Social Contract since the existence of the City is the condition for the very existence of the LAW. As a result, the Declaration of the Patricians recalls and refines the Social Contract. In other words, it lays down the General Principles that govern all areas of the City and will form the basis of the Constitution and laws.

But, before reading its articles, most of which have already been mentioned, let us insist on the fact that, if it is possible to declare everything and anything, there are only real Rights within a Society. However, a Society is based on universal Principles, those of political association. These Original Principles dictate the first Duties and Rights of Citizens. It is they whom the Declaration of Duties and Rights must, first of all, recognize, however primitive and harsh they may seem, because without them there is no City, no state of Rights. Before making statements in all directions, it is, therefore, necessary to know what a Society is at the origin since it must never cease to be so.

Individuals who are not incorporated live in the state of Nature, in which strength and insecurity prevail. It follows that it is to be stronger together and as safe as possible that individuals form a Society or City and thus become Citizens. Citizens are no longer in the state of Nature towards each other, but the City is still in this state, that is to say in a constant balance of power, towards everything that surrounds it (elements, animals, societies, etc.) With some subtleties, and whatever one may think, this is always true (77).

Security within the City, the first Citizen's Right, results from the combination of the Citizens' forces. It is they who, by fulfilling certain Duties towards each other, mutually guarantee each other this Right to Security. Rights thus arise from the reciprocity of

(77) Might is always right. What the strongest wants, he does or takes, no matter what others say. When the USA wants to wage war on Iraq, it does so, despite protests from the international « community ».

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Duties between Citizens, which necessarily implies equality in Rights. This explains why only the City is a state of Rights, why Equality of Citizens in Duties and Rights is the fundamental Principle of the City, why an individual who does not fulfill the Duties of the Citizen is not a Citizen or is no longer worthy of being a Citizen and why an individual who does not enjoy the Rights that the City must guarantee to all its members is not, in fact, a Citizen.

In primitive times, the Principles of political association are observed to the letter, because it is a matter of life and death. But, as much as the consequences of this total submission to the Principles are positive for the City, which thus preserves all its chances of existence, and for Citizens who, generally speaking, live longer, they are terrible for prevaricators, cowards, the weak and all individuals who for one reason or another do not or can no longer fulfill the Citizen's Duties and are abandoned or driven out. The City then has no choice but to be uncompromising, and there is no one to challenge or be moved by it. However, with the development of individual and collective means, physical or technical means, the fundamental Duties and Rights which, at the outset, have a strict meaning and induce basic Duties and Indirect Rights, can and must take on a broader meaning and induce additional indirect Duties and Rights, in line with the means of Citizens and the City. Evolution, therefore, does not or should not call into question the Principles of political association even if the relationship between Citizens and the reality of things becomes more complex.

However, the development of physical or technical means inevitably leads to an intellectual, if not moral, evolution. Yet this development is as desirable as it is likely to be dangerous. It is desirable because it elevates Humanity above the animal. But it is potentially dangerous because it also allows it to distort or deny the Principles of political association. It leads some people to believe, in the name of what distinguishes them, that they are superior to others (78) and to refuse to admit what they are :

(78) People are different by nature. It is therefore true that, in terms of human qualities, not everyone has the same level and that some are superior to others, even if superior people in a field are not always those who claim to be so. But Rights concern the social level, and therefore people as Citizens, not as individuals. In this respect, human qualities are not an issue. They allow individuals to occupy positions ; they do not justify inequality in Rights between Citizens.



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Citizens ; while it pushes others to want to go beyond the concept of Citizenship in the name of their humanity. The former wallow in individualism and advocate inequality ; the latter claim to be *citizen of the world* and want Equality, without knowing what it means. All of them trample on the Principles of political association and none of them is capable of building a City, the only true state of Rights.

Whatever one may think, the City must be local before it can perhaps be global. Whatever its size, it will always be based on the same Principles. It is, therefore, more important to know the fundamental Principles of the social order, from which the Citizen's Duties and Rights flow than to embark on the drafting of a bill of Rights with only good feelings and bad prejudices as guides in place of social thought.

Only once it has been firmly established can the City consider recognizing rights to individuals who are theoretically not or no longer Citizens. It is not then by Duty that it recognizes these rights, but because of its sensitivity, its moral (or even spiritual) elevation, in a word by humanity. There is no obligation on it to recognize them except for itself (79). It can, therefore, in the same way, recognize the rights to animals and nature in general. But all these rights are not comparable to those it recognizes for its Citizens and that it cannot violate without being criminal (80). Citizens deserve their Rights ; it is socially just that the City should guarantee them. But it is only from a moral point of view that it is right for the City to recognize some of them to sentient beings who, from a social point of view, do not exist.

(79) It should be noted that, if the City, because of its moral elevation, undertakes to recognize certain rights to individuals who are theoretically not or no longer Citizens, these rights will surely be recognized and guaranteed as if they were prescribed by the Principles. There is therefore no more to fear that a City that merely proclaims the Principles will not recognize the rights that its moral elevation allows it to conceive, that it will not be expected to recognize rights that it does not yet conceive, not being morally high enough. It should also be noted that these rights are not *natural* since their recognition depends on the goodwill of the City ; they are not even definitive since rights of the same kind appear as soon as the City reaches new levels of moral elevation.

(80) All the Rights included in the Declaration are sacred, regardless of their nature. This is why it is important to point out that the Rights that Citizens deserve and that flow from the Principles and those that the City recognizes for foreigners by humanity are of different natures. Only the first ones are written with a capital « r ».

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Now, the rights that the City recognizes to foreigners (81) because of their human nature must also be recognized to Citizens, which explains that, in the following Declaration, to avoid repetitions, these rights are not specified for the latter (this also explains why People precedes the Citizen and the City in the Declaration). However, the City may recognize individuals who live on its territory without being part of it rights it denies its citizens, who do not need them or already enjoy them in some other form.

It is thus possible to respect both the Principles of the City and Humanity. For this to happen, it is sufficient for people to be aware that they are Citizens, and for Citizens to have a sense of their humanity. In a word, we must know how to balance things, consult reason instead of enthusiasm. This *Declaration of Duties and Rights of People, Citizens and the City* is the result of this exercise.

### DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF PEOPLE, CITIZENS, AND THE CITY

*A Declaration of Duties and Rights need not take into account either the social, political, economic and technical situation at the time or the anticipated fears. It must set out clearly the fundamental and immutable Principles of political association, and establish the Duties and Rights in the absolute, that is, what reality must tend towards, what laws must in practice defend or observe in order to be in conformity with social logic, what any ethical man can legitimately claim, what a Society cannot violate without being criminal, what no court can ignore without being tyrannical. This text is the bible of the oppressed and the weapon of the innocent. But how could it be if, whether as an excess of humanity or a lack of honesty, Rights are not recognized, if injustices are not revealed, if oppression is not denounced, if oppressors can invoke it to maintain themselves, if slaves cannot find the strength to break their chains, if rebellion cannot find its*

(81) The term « foreigners » does not refer to immigrants, who are Citizens of France, but to foreign Citizens and possibly individuals living on the City' s territory without being part of it.

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*purpose and reason for being, if innocence, in a state of supposed rights, cannot fully trust it ?*



### **PREAMBLES AND ARTICLES FORM AN INDIVISIBLE WHOLE**

**Preamble 1 :** All hominids are human, regardless of their sex, age, skin color, language, customs, beliefs, passions, intellectual level, the way they were conceived or born, etc.

**Preamble 2 :** Every Citizen is a human being ; not every human being is necessarily a Citizen. A Citizen is any individual recognized as such by the City.

**Preamble 3 :** A City or a political association is any group of individuals originally united to survive, and therefore to be safe, and who, as a result, have the same Duties towards each other and mutually guarantee the same Rights.

**Preamble 4 :** The fulfillment of Duties towards the City, i. e. towards all Citizens, confers on Citizens Rights in the City, Rights that the City has the Duty to guarantee. The Duties of the City, i. e. the Citizens in body, are also the Duties of each Citizen in particular.

**Preamble 5 :** A Social Contract is any agreement adopted by Citizens, defining the Citizens' elementary Duties towards the City and those of the City towards each Citizen, imposing on all individuals wishing to be Citizens the same Duties, recognizing all individuals who have fulfilled them the same Rights, thus establishing Equality as the fundamental Principle of the social order.

**Preamble 6 :** The fundamental Duties and Rights of the Citizen derive from the act of political association. The Principles of the City are common to all Societies worthy of the name.

**Preamble 7 :** There are three levels of Duties and Rights : fundamental, indirect, special, Duties or Rights of a level resulting from the Duties or Rights of the higher level.

**Preamble 8 :** The *fundamental* Duties are the *general* obligations that every individual must fulfill to become or remain a Citizen.

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*Fundamental Rights* are the *theoretical* benefits that the City must recognize and guarantee to all its Citizens.

**Preamble 9 :** *Indirect Duties* are the various concrete actions by which Citizens can fulfill their fundamental Duties. *Indirect Rights* are the different practical forms through which Citizens exercise or enjoy fundamental Rights.

**Preamble 10 :** *Special Duties* are the specific actions that Citizens must perform to fulfill an *Indirect Duty* or to deserve a particular *Right*. *Special Rights*, on the other hand, result either from the exercise of *indirect Rights* or from the fulfillment of *special Duties*.

**Preamble 11 :** Equality concerns only *fundamental* Duties as well as *fundamental* and *indirect* rights. On the other hand, all Citizens can't fulfill the same indirect or special Duties and enjoy the same special Rights.

**Preamble 12 :** Oppression is any act by an individual, group or system that violates the Rights of at least one individual. There is a state of oppression when Equality between « Citizens » is not.

**Preamble 13 :** Any act by which an individual, either directly or by evading his Duties, diverts to his benefit the Rights generated by others and of which he is unworthy, is usurpation. Usurpation is oppression.

**Preamble 14 :** Citizenship and Nationality are two distinct things : the first is an economic and vital choice, the second is a political and sentimental one. Both involve duties and confer rights.

**Preamble 15 :** A National Citizen is any Citizen who considers the City as his only temporal Fatherland (Humanity being the metaphysical fatherland of every human being) and who joins actions to words. The City in the broad sense is all Citizens ; the City in the strict sense, the Nation, the sovereign People, is all national Citizens.

**Preamble 16 :** Any law ratified by national Citizens is a law and equal for all Citizens. Any law based on other principles isn't valid.

**Preamble 17 :** The law must only defend against what is harmful to the City and order only what is useful to it.

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**Preamble 18 :** Cities being groups of individuals united to increase their chances of survival in the face of the outside world, theoretically only maintain power relations between them. Their ability to go beyond these primary considerations without undermining the Principles of the social order is the measure of their humanity.

**Preamble 19 :** Cities must, not by Principle, but by humanity, cultivate among themselves the relationships that fellow Citizens have with each other.

**Preamble 20 :** The City does not forgive crime. Humanity does not recognize any asylum for tyranny and barbarism.



**ARTICLE I —** People are born free and equal without Rights, and must be equal in Duties and Rights as Citizens. A Right only exists if it is recognized and guaranteed by a Society. People are not born Citizens and are not entitled to Rights ; they become Citizens and must deserve and preserve their Rights through their actions.

### I. THE PEOPLE (Right of the people)

**ART. II —** Everyone has a Duty to act by this Declaration.

**ART. III —** Every able-bodied individual has the Duty to provide for his own needs by exploiting his potential. Every individual is the owner of everything he or she produces for himself or herself from property recognized as his or her own or whose ownership is not in dispute.

**ART. IV —** Every individual must submit to the laws of the City on whose territory he or she finds himself or herself unless submitting to them endangers his or her person or amounts to condoning tyranny.

**ART. V —** Every individual has the right to fight against his or her oppressors, and the duty to fight against the oppressors of others. The means used in this fight, to be legitimate, must be turned

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against the oppressors alone. Subjecting through legal forms resistance to oppression is the last refinement of tyranny.

**ART. VI —** Every individual must raise, educate and cherish his offspring until he or she reaches autonomy or legal majority.

**ART. VII —** Every individual who claims Rights is responsible for his or her actions, for the use he or she makes of his or her property and, to a certain extent, for the behavior of his or her offspring.

**ART. VIII —** Every individual has the right to freely dispose of his or her body and even of his or her life as long as he or she does not endanger non-consenting or unconscious persons.

**ART. IX a —** Any individual accused of an act considered by the City to be a felony or crime has the right to be judged fairly and defended properly. No one can be convicted without evidence.

**ART. IX b —** Sentences must serve the interests of the City and, if possible, those of the guilty parties. They are done less to punish those who have broken the law than to deter them from breaking it, less to punish the guilty than to make them right their wrongs, to remove forever their desire to offend again and, in extreme cases, to prevent them from doing any further harm to anyone. They are useful and fair when they fulfill their purpose.  
(82)

(82) Insofar as one of the purposes of sentences is to deter violations of the laws, they (or at least their principle) must be known in advance, which implies that the City must make them known. But they cannot be proportional to offenses or crimes, since they are of different natures, and, even so, they must not be, because their purpose is not only to punish an act. They must be *adapted* to the nature of the offense or crime to be able to fulfill their other objectives, which are to make the perpetrators repair their fault, make them aware of it, radically dissuade them from offending again and prevent criminals from harming the world forever. They must be such that breaking the law would be insane. Crimes (rape, murder, torture, procuring, slavery, etc.) are irreparable (for the victims) and unforgivable (from the point of view of the City) acts which, according to the Principles, deserve only one sentence : life imprisonment (for life in the true sense of the word) and solitude (for the safety of the guilty prisoners and those around them). But, for offenses, prison (under the same conditions, but for a shorter period) must be the last resort, as it is by far the most inappropriate sentence. It does not satisfy its purpose. A sentence must serve both the interests of the City and those of the offender, even if the latter is unaware of his interest. In fact, in most cases, painful community service, consisting in repairing the consequences of his crime, or even the consequences of ten, one hundred or one thousand crimes of the same

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**ART. X** — As a Citizen, an individual is entitled, within the limits of the City's possibilities, to a portion of land suitable for ensuring his/her existence. He/she also has the right to hunt and gather in the public domain.

**ART. XI** — Every individual has the right to choose his or her City, provided that the said City agrees to welcome him/her and that he/she is worthy by his/her actions to be a part of it.

**ART. XII** — Every individual has the right to choose his or her Nationality, provided that the Nation concerned recognizes him/her as one of its own and that he/she assumes his/her choice.

**ART. XIII** — Children, who cannot be naturalized, foreigners, stateless persons and Citizens who have not requested or obtained Nationality are nevertheless under the protection of the City on which they depend in the eyes of the world or on whose land they are located.

nature, must be sufficient to deter an offender from re-offending and Citizens from breaking the law. Justice must adopt the principle that a tiring and/or humiliating sentence is generally better than a prison sentence, especially under current conditions. Who does not know that prison is the school of delinquency and the regular residence of offenders ? Who will argue that it radically removes from its residents the desire to return or at least the desire to re-offend ? Its purpose is therefore doubly missed because it does not eradicate crime and allows offenders to ruin their lives and rot the lives of others. The City must always strike hard so that it rarely has to intervene, instead of hitting a little all the time and exhausting itself in vain. Imposing sentences (prison or other) supposedly proportional to individuals who will repeat them a hundred times over is a waste of time for the police and the courts and a demonstration of stupidity on the part of the City, which not only loses potential Citizens, but continually exposes its Citizens to attacks by the same individuals or their emulators. It does not benefit anyone. We must therefore choose between efficiency and this humanity that we hear about over and over again, this humanity that, under the pretext of respect for human dignity, under the pretext of human and Citizens' rights (whereas prisoners are not Citizens and there are no Citizens in inequality), excuses the inexcusable, blames the legitimate and turns justice into a joke. In this matter, true humanity consists in returning individuals to the City, even by unorthodox means, not in excluding them forever by foolishly sparing them ; it consists in being hard but just when lightness and sensitivity are clearly useless and disastrous ; it consists in emptying and closing as many prisons as possible instead of renovating them or building new ones, thus implementing alternative and effective sentences instead of simply discussing prisons, conditions of detention, etc. But it consists above all in advocating Equality (as Civism understands it), because only it can dry up the source of most crimes.

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### II. THE CITIZEN

**ART. XIV** — Every individual to be a Citizen, and every Citizen to remain a Citizen, must be in solidarity with his fellow Citizens, participate in the life of the City according to what it considers to be a participation, submit to its laws and defend it. These are the fundamental Duties of the Citizen.

**ART. XV** — Every Citizen has the Duty to put part of his potential at the service of the City, according to its requirements.

**ART. XVI** — Justice being served in the name of the People, any judgment requires the assembly of a popular jury. Every Citizen has a Duty to respect and enforce the law. Every national Citizen has the Duty to answer the call of the City when it needs its assistance to deliver justice.

**ART. XVII** — Every Citizen must enjoy the fundamental and indirect Rights that the City recognizes to even one of its Citizens. The fundamental Rights of the Citizen are Security and Liberty, in other words, Enjoying all the benefits of the City (83).

**ART. XVIII** — Security, the first goal of political association, consists in being protected by the City as far as possible, in freely exercising one' s Rights as a Citizen and in enjoying one' s legitimate property in peace. It implies equality in (indirect) Rights between Citizens and is maintained by the fulfillment of one' s (fundamental) Duties and the respect of other people' Rights.

(83) Equality does not appear here, because it is not a Right, but the fundamental Principle of all Rights. The notion of *Dignity* does not appear either, because it is synonymous with Equality between Citizens and respect by the City for the Rights it has enshrined. Outside of Equality, Dignity and decency are only hollow words recited, to appease their conscience, by those who want less inequality but do not dare to challenge Money that generates it, by those who cannot conceive that, in a monetary system, the rights on which living conditions depend are granted by the currency, which cannot be equally distributed, whereas they should, like any (indirect) Right, be granted by the Citizenship itself. (Thus Rousseau, to name but one, advises « *that no citizen should be opulent enough to be able to buy another, and none poor enough to be forced to sell himself.* » (From the Social Contract, Book II, Chap. 11) Property does not appear here either, because, with all due respect to the bourgeoisie, it is not a fundamental Right, but a special Right, since it generally follows from the exercise of an indirect Right, in this case, the Right to access the market (which itself follows from the fundamental Right for every Citizen to enjoy the benefits of the City).



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**ART. XIX a** — Every Citizen has the inalienable Right to defend himself the Rights that the City recognizes when the latter is temporarily unable to guarantee them. (84)

**ART. XIX b** — A Citizen threatened in his Rights and perhaps in his person, being able to rely only on his own strengths and having to react quickly and violently under the risk of being a victim, is the only judge of the means he/she can use in his/her defense, whatever the consequences for his/her aggressor. The City which could not or would not do anything for him/her at the time cannot reproach him/her afterward and must on the contrary and in any case prosecute the person who created this situation by failing in his/her Duties and by violating the Rights of a Citizen. (85)

(84) In his draft bill of rights presented to the Jacobins on April 21, 1793, adopted by them on the same day, Robespierre had formulated this idea as follows : *When a citizen lacks social security, he or she is part of the natural right to defend all his or her rights himself or herself.* (Article 30)

(85) Anyone who attacks the Rights or person of a Citizen breaks the social pact and falls into the state of Nature in which there are no laws. In doing so, he plunges his victim into the same state, as long as he cannot count on the Society's help. He has violated and destroyed all laws : his victim has no obligation to respect them at this time. It is therefore up to each of us to use the means at our disposal to push back or overcome the other. Whether the first is victorious or defeated (and alive), he finds himself facing the Society he has betrayed and of which he has attacked, or even killed, a member. That's enough to say he'll be prosecuted. But if he died, too bad for him. He had broken the social pact : the Society was not interested in his tragic fate. As for his victim who controlled, repelled or even killed him, the Society not only cannot blame him but must on the contrary congratulate him for having defended the Rights it recognizes and for having kept for it a Citizen it was supposed to protect.

These are the origins and consequences of the Principle of *self-defense*. The only thing the Society can and must do when it is used to justify a successful defense is to verify the facts to ensure that the person claiming it was indeed defending his Rights (and not just his person) that were or could have been threatened and did not instead provoke the aggression of which he claims to be the first victim or attempted to violate each the other's Rights. The law must be merged with the Principle and does not have to enter into other considerations or risk destroying the Principle itself.

This is indeed the disastrous consequence of the concept of *proportional defense* that only misplaced sensitivities, bureaucratic complacency and ignorance or contempt for the Principles of the social order have made possible to conceive. Because what is it about ? On the surface, to allow Citizens to defend themselves under certain conditions, in fact, to prohibit them from defending themselves since these conditions are never met. Basically, this concept, which is impressive in appearance, is based solely on sophisms.

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The first of them is to consider that the way in which a Citizen defends himself determines whether or not he was in self-defense, whereas it is the very situation in which he was at the time when he was attacked, whether or not he subsequently defended himself, that determines it.

The second is to ignore or neglect the fact that an assaulted Citizen is no longer in the state of Society but in the state of Nature, with all that this implies and that we have already exposed.

The third is to equate an aggression with a sports duel, since forcing an assaulted Citizen to use only means proportional to those of his aggressor in his defense amounts to asking him (and only him for that matter) to show fair play. But what does unilateral fair play have to do with this kind of business ? On what grounds should a victim give the abuser a chance to achieve his or her goals ? In the name of what should a Society create opportunities for those who abuse it at the expense of the Citizens it must protect ?

The fourth, which is in line with the previous one, is to argue that it would be unfair for a Citizen to defend himself with greater force than his aggressor when the notion of the just does not exist in the state of Nature (in which the Citizen is found through the aggressor's fault) and cannot therefore be invoked against him by Society after the event.

The fifth is to imply that an assaulted and surprised Citizen has a choice of means to defend himself, and that his aggressor gives him time to think, which is clearly ridiculous.

The sixth is to claim that there may be some proportion of means between a surprise attack and an improvised defense, whereas the one who attacks, whatever his means, always has the incomparable advantage of the initiative over the one who defends himself, so that the latter rarely has the upper hand even if he is theoretically stronger or better armed. In other words, the real power of the same means varies according to who uses it, when and how. The concept of *proportional defense* therefore makes no sense between two individuals ; it makes even less sense, if at all possible, between groups of individuals.

The seventh is to deny Citizens attacked by unarmed and apparently non-violent individuals (burglars for instance) the Right to use violence against them, a response that will be considered disproportionate and yet is the only one that can put an end to the aggression in favor of the Citizen. The law therefore confers all the rights to this type of aggressor and only allows Citizens to watch them do so or to flee.

The eighth is to consider that Society must protect all its Citizens, including aggressors, and must therefore prevent Citizens from killing them by defending themselves. However, aggressors are no longer Citizens because they have outlawed themselves. Their death, while they were violating Citizens' Rights, should therefore not overly affect it. Especially since all the protection it grants them, is taken away from its Citizens, who are already poorly protected. In the end, it is less concerned about the fate of the Citizens than that of the aggressors, since it is almost normal for the former to be killed, but immoral to kill the latter.

The ninth concerns Societies that have rightly abolished the death penalty, but for the wrong reasons, and which, by refraining from killing prisoners, also deny Citizens the Right to eventually kill their aggressors. But a Society is not at all in the same situation when facing a prisoner as a Citizen when facing an aggressor ! It is safe ; he risks his Rights and perhaps his life, because the aggressors allow themselves to kill.

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The tenth is that the law, according to this concept, assumes, absurdly enough, that a Citizen knows the intentions of his aggressor, that they are always benevolent, and that he therefore has nothing to fear, since it forbids him to use all possible means to defend his Rights and possibly his life.

The eleventh consists in neglecting the fact that an aggressor who encounters resistance can both flee and react with extreme violence by using means that he had until then concealed, so that a Citizen who defends himself proportionally only is more endangered than if he did not defend himself.

The twelfth is to say that Rights are not worth the death of a man. But if any Rights are not sacred to the law, why does the law recognize them ? Moreover, as we have already shown, an assaulted Citizen is much more likely to be killed or injured than his aggressor. Who is once again benefiting from this sophism ?

The thirteenth is to declare that Citizens must not take justice into their own hands or seek revenge, while defending oneself, even at the cost of the aggressor's life, is in no way an act of justice or revenge. Even so, how can one seriously reproach a Citizen for violating a principle in the face of an individual who has violated them all ? How can we honestly blame the one who reacts more than the one who pushed him to react ?

The fourteenth is to invoke (imaginary) acts of violence committed outside the framework of self-defense (as defined here) to claim that the unconditional right to defend oneself would be the open door to abuse.

The fifteenth is to keep silent about the fact that forcing citizens to observe laws at times when they need to defend themselves against thugs, delinquents and criminals who do not respect any of them is like tying them up and fatally multiplies the audacity of the latter to whom the door is open to commit all possible abuses against Citizens and at the least risk of doing so.

The sixteenth is to say that a Citizen who manages to turn the situation around is no longer in self-defense towards his aggressor and therefore no longer has the Right to touch him. However, the state of self-defense lasts as long as the state of Nature in which his aggressor plunged him, and only ceases to exist when the Citizen can finally rely on fellow Citizens (it is therefore not enough that Citizens are present, they must also intervene and be able to ward off any danger). Society cannot blame its Citizens for having taken advantage of a moment of inattention by their aggressors or a temporary turnaround in their favor to kill or wound them when it is precisely in these moments that they can triumph and self-defense is not an empty word. Because, finally ! it would not make sense to recognize the Citizens' Right to defend themselves only in moments of surprise and powerlessness ! Self-defense necessarily implies the Right to be offensive if the situation allows it. The aggressors must therefore know that, as soon as they force a Citizen to react, they absolve him in the eyes of the Society from everything he can do against them in his rage, a rage that they have triggered, and that they therefore risk up to their very lives. Once again, there are no laws in the state of Nature except that of the strongest, and it is too bad for aggressors who presume of their own strength and underestimate that of their victims.

The last and most intolerable of the sophisms is to declare that Justice generally shows indulgence towards the attacked Citizens who have wounded or killed their aggressor (s), thus necessarily having used disproportionate means against them. But why is it showing indulgence if not because it acknowledges that they were nevertheless within their rights ? So why not simply leave them in peace instead of just showing indulgence to them as if they were guilty of something like their attackers, who were suddenly transformed into victims ? Could it be to spare the

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**ART. XX** — Every Citizen has the Right to be armed for his protection and that of his fellow Citizens. Any Citizen who intervenes to defend the person or the Rights of a Citizen, as is his Duty, may under no circumstances be prosecuted by the City.

**ART. XXI** — Freedom consists in enjoying the same indirect Rights as one's fellow Citizens and in being able to do everything that does not interfere with other people's Rights or is not prohibited by the law, equal for all. Anyone who oversteps his Rights fails to fulfill his Duties, violates other people's Rights, breaches the law and risks being temporarily or permanently deprived of the Rights he has abused, or even of all the freedoms (86).

« Society » from acknowledging its mistake in adopting the scruffy and scandalous « principle » of *proportional* defense ?

As a result of all these sophisms, « Society », instead of encouraging its « Citizens » to triumph by all means of those who violate their Rights and laws, gives them, for some reason, additional opportunities to use their passes. Better still, by virtue of the concept of proportional defense, laws confer on those over whom they have no control the implicit right to set the legal framework from which « Citizens » must not leave to repel them. But, since it is impossible for a Citizen's means of defense to be proportional to those of his aggressor (the same laws prohibit Citizens from being armed, which obviously does not prevent criminals from being so), they are therefore always disproportionate, most often to his disadvantage, an assaulted « Citizen » is always a victim, whether of his aggressor, if he has been unable to repel him, or of the law, if by miracle he has struck him down but under conditions or by means considered illegal. All that remains for the « Citizens » to do is pray not to be attacked, not fight back or flee if they are attacked. Thus, instead of making them men, the « Society » makes them cowards (It goes without saying that, when Citizens do not have the Right to defend themselves, they are even less likely to defend others, as it is their Duty). Instead of imposing them on offenders and criminals who no longer mean anything to it, it opens the door to all abuses at the expense of its own « Citizens ».

Let us therefore remember that Society (a set of individuals joining forces to survive) is not made to prevent Citizens from defending themselves but to increase with all its power the protection that their personal forces can already provide them. As society cannot be everywhere, it must recognize to its Citizens, in cases of force majeure, the inalienable freedom that they have in the state of Nature to defend themselves by all means in their power against those who infringe their Rights.

(86) Articles on freedom of speech, conscience, religion, movement, assembly, etc. are not included in this Declaration, as all these indirect Rights, contributing to the enjoyment of Security and/or Freedom, are contained in this article. If all Citizens enjoy the same indirect Rights, it is sufficient that one of them has a freedom for all the others to have it too. It is then not only useless to remind that Citizens must be equal in certain indirect Rights but also dangerous to focus

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**ART. XXII** — All Citizens having the Right to enjoy all the benefits of their City, fruits of their Duties, have the Right either to an equal share of the common product or to the possibility of free access to the market simply because they are Citizens. In this second case, the Right of access, conferred by Citizenship, therefore equal for all Citizens because theoretically unlimited, has as its only limits the desires of the Citizen who exercises it, the exercise by his fellow Citizens of this same Right, the nature of things and if necessary the law.

**ART. XXIII** — All that is produced within the framework of a Duty to the City belongs in the first place to the City. When the City does not itself distribute the common product, the Citizens distribute it to each other by exercising their Right of access. Assets allocated by the City or removed from the market become legitimate private property.

**ART. XXIV** — Citizens may also possess, in other words, enjoy and dispose at their discretion, with respect for the Rights of others, of everything of which the City recognizes them as owners and everything on which it does not contest their Property.

**ART. XXV a** — Extracting the wealth from the soil or subsoil to make it available to the City is the Duty of the Citizens to whom the City entrusts its soil as working tools. These resources are a production like any other.

**ART. XXV b** — Natural resources, belonging to all in general and no one in particular, may under no circumstances become private property, not even when the interests of the City compel it to entrust their use, exploitation, management, etc. to individuals.

**ART. XXVI a** — To be properly housed and to choose one's accommodation among those available is the Right of every Citizen. This Right does not necessarily extend to individual houses, which are, more than any other form of housing, the extension of a natural resource, in this case, the land.

**ART. XXVI b** — Depending on its size and the space available, the City may recognize the Right to dispose of its land for housing

attention on only a few Rights, because this would suggest that Equality does not concern others, which would lead to a lot of abuses.

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either to all Citizens, or primarily to National Citizens, or exclusively to the latter, or no one.

**Art. XXVII** — All Citizens have the Right to have access to all parts of the administration of public affairs.

**ART. XXVIII** — All Citizens have the right to contribute to the formation of laws which, however, can only be formulated, approved and served by national Citizens.

**ART. XXIX a** — When there are too many national Citizens to be able to take decisions directly and together, each of them has the Right to choose his or her spokesperson and to be chosen to be the spokesperson of his or her fellow Citizens. National Citizens also have the right to provoke referendums on any subject following the procedures established by the Constitution.

**ART. XXIX b** — Decisions taken by representatives must be ratified in one way or another by the people they represent to be legitimate and to be considered as law (87). The people may at any time dismiss their representatives following the procedures established by law.

**ART. XXIX c** — A government that passes laws without consulting the sovereign People is anti-democratic. A regime that leaves the People with no other way than insurrection to change laws and its government is tyrannical. The People have the inalienable right to overthrow them by peaceful action if possible, by armed insurrection if necessary.

**ART. XXIX d** — The salvation of the People is the supreme law. When the government violates the rights of the People or makes deals with its enemies, insurrection is for the People, the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties.

(87) It makes no sense for people to ratify the decisions of their representatives when they receive a compulsory mandate, i. e. when they are mandated for a specific purpose and do exactly what they were elected for. But, in practice, it is impossible to impose a compulsory mandate on elected officials mandated for several years, because they are necessarily called upon to improvise. Under these conditions, it is not as elected officials that they make decisions, but as individuals. Not submitting their decisions to the People for ratification then amounts to placing the whims of an individual or a handful of individuals above the will of the People, which is a heresy from a democratic point of view. (See also Jean-Jacques Rousseau, note 93)

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### III. THE CITY

**ART. XXX** - The first Duty of the City is to adopt a single Social Contract that defines the Duties and Fundamental Rights of the Citizen, i. e. the Duties that confer Citizenship and the Rights that it confers. Without it, there is no Citizen, Equality, state of Rights or Society worthy of the name.

**ART. XXXI** - The City, like the Nation, has the right to receive on its territory or within it, or to expel from it, whoever it wishes, by its laws.

**ART. XXXI** - The City has the Duty to ensure its conservation, to defend the integrity of its territory, to preserve the independence, identity, and existence of the People ; to guarantee the equality of Citizens in fundamental and indirect Rights and to ensure that they all first fulfill their fundamental Dutys. In short, to guarantee the collective and individual Rights of the Citizens.

**ART. XXXII** - The City has a Duty to act in the general interest, i. e. to satisfy the legitimate interests of as many of its Citizens as possible. The general interest takes precedence over special interests. However, the City must protect legitimate private interests as far as possible and find a form of compensation acceptable to the parties concerned when the general interest requires it to offend some of them.

**ART. XXXIII** - The City recognizes as its own only the laws adopted by itself, has the Duty to submit the work of elected officials for the approval of the electors.

**ART. XXXIV** - The City has a Duty to make known its laws and the penalties that violating them entails before it has the Right to demand that everyone respect them. No one can be prevented from doing what a law does not prohibit at least in principle or be forced to do what no law requires.

**ART. XXXV** - The City has the Duty to severely punish those who abuse the authority it has entrusted to them. No one is above the law.

**ART. XXXVI** - The City, to know who participates and who prevails, who is a Citizen and who usurps Rights, has as much the Right to demand from Workers a significant minimum effort as it does to make sure that they have made it.

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**ART. XXXVII** - The City has the Duty to take charge of, without restricting their Rights, Citizens who are unable or no longer able to participate in the life of the City.

**ART. XXXVIII** - The City must provide children with care, protection and education, adolescents with civic and professional training, the unhappy with comfort, and oppressed or endangered Humanity with relief.

**ART. XXXIX** - The City has a Duty to protect its cultural and natural heritage in order to transmit it to future generations in the best possible condition.

**ART. XL** - The City has a Duty to Protect the Right to privacy, being of a private nature any fact which, escaping the public, Justice or History, is intended to be kept secret or discreet by the person concerned.

**ART. XLI** - The City, having the obligation to protect its Citizens and ensure its conservation, has the Duty to protect against public dangers and the Right to annihilate its mortal enemies (88).

**ART. XLII** - The City has the right to keep in detention only those individuals who, having voluntarily taken or forever disrupted the lives of their victims, have lost all their Rights, and those who, unable or unwilling to make reparation for their wrongs, cannot be otherwise punished.

(88) The Principle of self-defense, which, in the case of ordinary crimes and offenses, prohibits the death penalty, also authorizes (which does not mean obliging) the City to kill when its existence is at stake. Ordinary criminals do not threaten it and are no longer a danger once they are under control. The City must isolate them and prevent them from harm forever but has no Right to kill them. On the other hand, it is ridiculous and dangerous to confuse the death penalty and the inalienable Right of a Society (or a political system) to kill its enemies, because nothing, if not itself, can prevent it from exercising it openly (international war, civil war) or secretly (anti-terrorist actions), the exercise of this Right obviously being legitimate only in the context of a defense.

It is therefore in the name of a Principle, in this case, that of self-defense, that the death penalty should be abolished, and not for technical reasons, let alone for reasons of sensitivity. Because the sentimentality that first cries over innocent victims of miscarriages of justice, then extends to the guilty and ends up drying up for their victims, rejecting the death penalty at the same time rejects the idea of death itself and comes to prohibit Citizens and the City from defending and even protecting themselves, thus opening the way to all kinds of abuse.

When laws are not established according to the Principles of social order, we can no longer judge according to them. Initiative and arbitrariness are then everywhere, trust and justice, nowhere.



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**ART. XLIII** - The City must support oppressed Peoples and is as a last resort an asylum for revolts in danger of death.

**ART. XLIV** - Everything that the City grants by humanity cannot be considered as an inalienable Right by the beneficiaries, who must, as far as possible, be worthy of it and, if they can, draw from it the strength to integrate a City or assume their existence on their own in the future.

*Now, it is up to everyone to compare this Declaration with the existing Declarations and to judge which one most faithfully reflects the Principles of political association and recognizes for Citizens and people Rights that are as just as they are extensive, Rights that Civism proclaims and that only the City can guarantee.*

### CONCLUSION

This book could end here. Everything has been said or implied about Civism and the City. More than necessary was even said because the City will be based entirely on the civic Card which will destroy Money and guarantee Equality. However, it was useful to discuss immediately, to know what to do and not come back to it, some notions that are now confusing and yet fundamental, notions that Equality will impose but that it is preferable to master from now on.

Moreover, it should be recalled that the purpose of this first part was to set out the natural laws of political association and the means of anchoring them in reality. However, since we did not go into detail on the specific cases and possible exceptions, these laws may have seemed rigid and excessive. But they will only be the framework of the structure. In practice, like the muscles that articulate the skeleton, other laws will give flexibility to their application and freedom to the movements of Citizens. Let us be sure that if we can see particular cases where laws will have to provide solutions that are both following the Principles and common sense, the Citizens who live under these laws will see all the imperfections even better than we do and will never stop correcting them.

Now, beyond these details, there are of course major measures to consider so that the City can function around the civic Card. These measures are the subject of Part Two. However, although advocated by Civism, they are secondary and do not constitute the very essence of Civism. The latter considers them to be the most coherent and probable, but presents them above all as a basis for reflection and also to show how the City can apply the Principles and overcome certain obstacles, even if it means overcoming them differently.

## **II**

### **RESULTING MEASURES AND NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS**



## II. RESULTING MEASURES AND NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS

### 1. The political framework

The City is based on the natural laws of political association which derive from the very act of association and are set out in the Social Contract. In practice, the organization of the City will be the result of specific laws resulting from reflection, adopted by people. These particular laws may, therefore, be, if not contradictory, at least out of step with the fundamental laws of the City, i. e. the main Principles. But laws that are contrary to the natural order of things, if at all conceivable, will be unenforceable and will have to be quickly repealed or revised (89). However, it will still be up to people to make laws. But, it is possible to discover by logic those that the force of things will compel them to adopt, and it is undoubtedly useful to expose them without waiting for unfortunate experiences to make them think of it. This is what we will now focus on.

Nevertheless, we can only imagine important laws. So, assuming that the City ratifies the ones we will imagine, it will still have a multitude of them to adopt. Also, we will often have to refer back to the City many questions that we will encounter and that we will not have to answer. We will then say that this must be *determined by law*. Hence the importance of knowing how and by whom laws will be made. The first laws we must therefore consider are those that will determine the political organization of the City.

To know how the City should organize itself politically, how laws will be adopted, who will have the right to legislate or contribute directly to the formation of laws, it is first necessary to know what a law is.

A law is a social rule that imposes Duties and recognizes Rights and to which each Citizen must submit by fulfilling said Duties or by respecting said Rights. But, for Citizens to have the Duty to submit to it, it must be their creation, it must be consented to by them and equal for all. Laws are therefore only laws if the

(89) It is likewise impossible for any law to make Equality under Money since inequality depends less on people than on the nature of the monetary system.

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rules are equal for all that the City, i. e. all Citizens, gives itself to itself.

These are the Principles towards which reality must tend.

It does not result from these Principles that laws must be approved individually by all Citizens. A law is not a rule that an individual adopts in his little corner and on his behalf. It is not as an individual, but as a Citizen, as a member of the City, as part of a collective being that his opinion is required as an indication. It is in a body that Citizens constitute the legislator and not individually. The will of the City is and can only be in the wish of the greatest number of people, not in unanimity. If all Citizens had to consent individually to the adoption of a law to have the Duty to comply with it, none would ever be adopted, because a multitude of individuals can never unanimously agree on any subject whatsoever (90). Under these conditions, the City would be artificially paralyzed. It must, therefore, be considered that the majority unquestionably expresses the will of the City and is sufficient to ratify a law until a new majority is formed which will abolish or modify it if necessary. There is thus a distinction between the City, which is the whole population of Citizens and has laws to which all must submit, even if it means criticizing them, and the City, which adopts the laws and is represented, at a given moment, only by at least the majority of Citizens. The City is not divided into two classes, majority and minority since every Citizen can, depending on the subject and the time, be in one situation or the other. Whether his opinion prevails or not, he always contributes to the formation of laws. But it is by complying with laws that have not been approved by him that a Citizen is entitled to demand the compliance of his fellow Citizens with the laws that he has helped to have adopted against their will.

On the other hand, the Principles themselves exclude certain Citizens from being part of the City's political body. Indeed, a law

(90) In his *Encyclopedia of Relative and Absolute Knowledge*, Bernard Werber points out the particular case of the population of the Vanuatu archipelago, which is not familiar with the concept of a majority imposing its choice on a minority. « *If the inhabitants do not agree, they will discuss among themselves until they reach unanimity. Of course, each discussion takes time. Some are stubborn and refuse to be convinced. That is why the people of Vanuatu spend a third of their days in talks to convince themselves of the validity of their opinions. When a debate concerns a territory, the discussion can last for years, even centuries, before reaching a consensus. In the meantime, the issue will remain unresolved.* » (Editions Albin Michel, 2000, p. 126)

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must be made in the interest of the City, and Citizens must obey it. However, any individual who participates in the life of the City will be a Citizen. Citizenship will, therefore, be too easy to acquire to ensure the City that a Citizen will be committed to defending his interests and that he will forever reside within it, under its laws. It will be a necessary but insufficient condition to be able to contribute to the formation of laws. It is to the Nationality that the City will attach the political Rights and Duties that will attest the fidelity towards it of the Citizens who will accept to fulfill them. Not all Citizens, equal in fundamental Rights, and therefore fundamentally equal, will, therefore, enjoy the special Right of the City, even if they will all be required to comply with the laws. It thus appears that a legal distinction is necessary between the *City in the broad sense*, i. e. all Citizens, including non-national Citizens, and the *City in the strict sense* or the French People, i. e. all National Citizens who alone can contribute to the formation and enforcement of laws (91).

However, it should be remembered that the Nationality and everything it represents at that time will be within the reach of any Citizen who seeks to fulfill the conditions for obtaining it and accepts the constraints. Citizens who do not want to be naturalized, who do not want to fulfill the special Duties that the Nationality will imply, will not be able to claim the special Rights that it will confer and to which they will have in fact renounced ; they will tacitly recognize the Right of national Citizens to make laws without consulting them ; in this matter, they will only have the duty to remain silent, since they will not have the right to contribute to the formation of laws, nor will they have the right to contest them (at least publicly) or to request one. When you refuse to go through the door, you don't enter through the window !

It should thus be noted that, for the remainder of this chapter, that it will always be implied that the terms « Citizens » and

(91) This distinction already exists with some notable nuances. Only the French have the right to be heard in France. But the notions of nationality and citizenship are confused, so that the right of citizenship is granted to French people who sometimes do not deserve to be more than ordinary citizens, and is logically denied to immigrants who, although not French, should nevertheless be recognized as *citizens of France* and enjoy as such the same fundamental Rights as all citizens.

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« People » refer to *national Citizens* who will have the exclusive Right to make laws.

To be legitimate, laws must be accepted collectively by Citizens, who will then be required to comply with them individually. Any law should, therefore, be subject to a referendum. It is probably impossible to make referendums every day about all laws when there are many Citizens, and the Society is complex. However, this is the Principle. We will see later on how to apply it permanently without falling into an impracticable direct democracy. At least it must be applied to the letter concerning the fundamental laws of the City, whether it is the Social Contract or the Constitution.

We have already seen that the City will submit the Social Contract for the approval of the People. The same will apply to the Constitution. That being said, the Principle set out above does not limit the role of the People to one vote per decade ! It implies that there is no legitimate and constitutional right other than the will of the People and that no one other than the People can interpret or amend the Constitution. The latter must, therefore, provide the People with one or more means of modifying it whenever they wish, i. e. constitutional means of provoking referendums. To deny them these means would, of course, leave them with no alternative to change their Constitution other than insurrection. Who can deny them to them if not a tyrannical regime ?

In the hope of further postponing the consequences of a Principle that has been accepted for centuries, some may object that the Constitution adopted by the People could be in contradiction with the Principles of the Social Contract, in other words, it is not wise to recognize to the People Rights that others (who ?) would exercise better than they do. But, in addition to the fact that it would be curious, to say the least, for the same People to adopt different Principles at the same time, it will be impossible for the Constitution, whoever the authors may be, to be in contradiction with the Principles of the Social Contract, since they, anchored in reality by the civic Card, will be unavoidable. This is precisely where the Civic revolution will be. In the City, the guard of the Principles will be ensured not by capricious people but by the immutable means of exchange and the irresistible force of things.



## II. RESULTING MEASURES AND NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS

The City's Constitution will, therefore, be subject to a referendum. Does this mean that it will have to be adopted unanimously ? No. Just as Citizens refusing Nationality will confer on National Citizens the Right to make laws by themselves, so will voting force them to accept the will of the majority. Otherwise, why adopt the principle of voting if, in the end, Citizens with a minority opinion contest the verdict of the ballot boxes ? Might as well use force right now to impose one's opinion ! Under these conditions, the City would be permanently threatened with division and civil war. Only the law of majority (absolute or relative) can ensure peace and stability, knowing that Equality and fundamental Rights will be guaranteed by the civic Card and will therefore not be dependent on the laws. It should also be noted that the civic Card derives from the Social Contract, before the Constitution, which will be positively ratified by individuals who have voted « for » and tacitly by those who, regardless of their convictions or situation, accept Citizenship (92).

The City will take no account of the opinions of the people who abstained and of the Citizens who voted blank. How could it interpret silent thoughts ? Whether or not this attitude expresses something, the City can't take it into account at the expense of the votes cast. What would happen if a vote or election were invalidated by a certain proportion of abstentions or blank or void votes ? The vote or elections should be repeated. However, the question asked or the candidates running would be the same. Why would Citizens answer the same question differently ? Moreover, as far as elections are concerned, if the candidates in the first round were forced to give way to others, the new candidates would come from the same political families, from those parties capable of running candidates and which have been repudiated ? Repeating the elections would, therefore, be an illusion. Especially since, in the City, unlike today, all Citizens and all political parties will have the means to express themselves, to

(92) Jean-Jacques Rousseau explains these Principles as follows : « *If there are opponents in the social pact, their opposition does not invalidate the contract, it only prevents them from being understood ; they are foreigners among the citizens. When the State is instituted, consent is in residence ; living in the territory means submitting to sovereignty. Apart from this primitive contract, the voice of the greatest number always binds all the others ; it is a continuation of the contract itself. [...] The citizen consents to all laws, even to the one that is passed against his will, and even to those that punish him when he dares to violate any one.* » (From *The Social Contract*, Book IV, Chap. 2, Votes)

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spread their ideas and to support an election campaign. When no candidate, no party, no idea will inspire voters, the City will, unfortunately, have nothing better to offer them and the invalidation of the vote will be useless. In other words, such situations will have root causes that nothing, other than time, can remedy. Questions will therefore always be decided by the votes cast, with abstentions and Citizens voting blank or nil, giving other voters the de facto right to decide for them.

It remains to be decided who will submit to the People the questions they will have to decide.

A law is a text. However, if a crowd can adopt or ratify a text, they are unable to write it. This can only be achieved by an individual or a small group of individuals. A larger group can then reflect on it, discuss it, amend it, in short work to perfect it, and it is up to the People, as a last resort, to adopt or reject it.

Individuals responsible for working on the drafting of the laws to which the People must submit must have received this mission from the People themselves. They must, therefore, be chosen, i. e. elected by their fellow Citizens. But these elected representatives, deputies by the People, are not for that matter the representatives of the People. They are only the spokespersons for their constituents (93). Their mission should, therefore, be limited to doing what they were elected to do. However, they are elected based on an agenda and it is on this basis alone that their legitimacy to speak and act on behalf of their constituents is based. In theory, elected officials do not have the right to work on bills other than those promised to their voters ; they have even less the right to have them adopted by their peers without the consent of the People. Otherwise, the agenda of candidates for legislative and other offices would only be a hoax, since they would be free, once elected, to ignore their promises and substitute their particular desires for the wishes of their voters. Soon the Chamber of Deputies would be everything, and the People nothing.

(93) Jean-Jacques Rousseau expressed these ideas as follows : « *Sovereignty cannot be represented, for the same reason that it cannot be alienated ; it consists essentially of the general will, and the will cannot be represented : it is the same, or it is different ; there is no middle ground. The people's deputies are therefore not and cannot be their representatives, they are only their commissioners ; they cannot conclude anything definitively. Any law that the people themselves have not ratified is void ; it is not a law.* » (From the Social Contract, Book III, Chap. 15, Members of Parliament or Representatives)

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It is, however, impossible to hold elections or choose new representatives every time the need for a new law arises. Candidates are therefore elected for a certain period, during which they are inevitably led to think of laws other than those proposed in their agenda. It is even inevitable that elected officials, once immersed in the heart of reality, will give up all or part of their agenda. It is also common for voters when they do not vote by default, to elect a candidate for only part of their agenda, so that the elected official is not even legitimized to implement it in its entirety. In short, elected officials cannot be in tune with their constituents and are in practice left to their own devices. They are therefore less elected to make the laws they promised than to legislate at all. Therefore, the laws adopted by the Deputies can only be projects as long as the People have not expressly ratified them (94). Without popular sanction, no text has the force of law.

In theory, any law should, therefore, be sanctioned by the People before it can enter into force. In practice, this is realistic only for a limited number of laws, for important laws, because daily referendums on all possible and imaginable laws are no more feasible than permanent elections. A referendum must be preceded by a debate that allows Citizens to mature their opinions and vote in full knowledge of the facts, which, by definition, takes time, which Citizens must take and which the law must leave them. But how could Citizens who are busy with tasks other than legislating take the time to think if they are called upon to decide on a different issue every day ? Even if it were concretely possible

(94) From this point of view, the most democratic Constitution ever adopted in France was that of 1793. It stated : « Bills are preceded by a report (Art. 56). The discussion cannot be opened, and the law can only be provisionally adopted fifteen days after the report (Art. 57). The draft is printed and sent to all municipalities in the Republic under this title : proposed law (Art. 58). Forty days after the sending of the proposed law, if, in half of the departments, plus one, one-tenth of the primary assemblies of each of them, duly formed, have not made any demands, the draft is accepted and becomes law (Sec. 59). If there is a complaint, the Legislature convenes the Primary Assemblies (Art. 60). » Marat, the most advanced of the revolutionaries, had laid down similar principles as early as 1789 : « [...] the general regulations issued by the national senate must first have the force of law for a certain time and only become true laws after having received the sanction of the people. » (L'Ami du Peuple, n° 5, 15 September 1789) If the fundamental principle of the ratification of laws by the People is established, the application proposed by Marat nevertheless has a serious disadvantage : that of allowing the liberticidal « laws » adopted by the elected representatives time to suffocate the People before they could reject them.

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to consult them daily (which computer technology would allow), this would be strongly discouraged because it would be demagogic and dangerous. Such an expeditious procedure, Democratic in appearance, would be a deception contrary to the very spirit of democracy. It, therefore, seems that the problem is insoluble or rather that the solution is to ignore the Principles and give Deputies the power to make and adopt laws on their own.

But what's the problem ? It is enough to ask it to solve it : 1) the laws must be ratified by the People, 2) the Citizens must have time to think about them before ratifying or rejecting them, 3) the « ordinary » Citizens, occupied by their occupations, do not have time to meditate on all the draft laws. But why do laws have to be ratified by the People ? To be the expression of the popular will, in other words, to be in accordance with public opinion. It is, therefore, a question of finding a way to consult public opinion without necessarily consulting the entire People. It is less a question for the City of having the opinion of its « ordinary » Citizens on the laws proposed by the Deputies than to know what they think about them once they have meditated on them. The City must, therefore, find in its midst a portion of Citizens who are both representative of their fellow Citizens and free of any obligation to be able to engage in such meditation serenely. These Citizens cannot be elected since they would then be Deputies. Their election would require them to be known, to campaign, etc., in short everything that would cut them off from the common. Nor can they be appointed, because by whom would they be appointed ? This would lead to all kinds of shenanigans to distort appointments. Only the random selection (95), like jurors, remains as a viable option, hence the name of the Court of Public Opinion (C.P.O.) that Civism gives to their institution. The

(95) The selection by lot of Citizens in charge of important functions may seem demagogic or even heretical for people used to leaving the reins of the « City » to professionals and a self-appointed elite who believe that representative democracy is a democratic system. But, it should be recalled that in Athens, the cradle of democracy, most of the civil servants and the 500 members of the Council were drawn by lot from among the citizens, the other functions being mostly elective. (Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens) It must, therefore, be assumed that this system of trusting the People, which was that of one of the most brilliant civilizations, is not so bad. It is time for sincere democrats to understand that, just as practice makes perfect, it is by treating people as children that we infantilize them, it is by considering people as Citizens and allowing them to act as such that they will become Citizens.

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(national) Citizens sitting on the CPO will be called Censors, their role being primarily to ratify or reject the laws proposed by the Deputies, thus to exercise a form of censorship.

The Censors, unlike the Deputies, in addition to being drawn by lot (in each Department), will be much more numerous than them, at least three times as many, and will only sit for one year, instead of five. Moreover, they will not be renewed in their entirety like the Deputies, but by thirds every four months. Finally, a Citizen may only be a Censor once in his or her life. The purpose of these provisions will be both to remove or break the political ambitions of the Censors so that they consider only the general interest, and to ensure that the CPO represents public opinion. Let us also specify that the Citizens designated by lot to be Censors must be informed one year in advance so that they can become fully aware of their future mission unless they refuse it as they will have the right to do. Of course, sitting on the CPO will be their way of participating in the life of the City (they will, therefore, be required to sit assiduously), which will ensure the validity of their civic Card for at least one year.

The primary role of the Censors will therefore be to ratify or reject, on behalf of the People, from whom they will come directly and into which they will quickly be plunged, the laws proposed by the Chamber of Deputies, except those which, according to the Constitution and by their nature, must automatically be the subject of a referendum. The Censors shall decide all questions submitted to them, on any subject whatsoever, not by an absolute majority, but by a majority of at least two thirds. When they fail to achieve such a majority, the question will remain open until new proposals are made, unless the CPO deems it necessary to call a referendum on the subject. The purpose of the *two-thirds* provision will be to balance the disadvantages of appointing Censors by drawing lots, i. e. to strengthen the credibility of the CPO as a representative of the People. The higher the proportion of Censors who agree on a point, the more likely it is that their opinion would be shared by a large proportion - if not an equivalent proportion - of their fellow Citizens if they had had the same time to consider the problem raised. When two-thirds of the Censors adopt an opinion, there is no doubt that this opinion will be at least a majority in the City.

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To examine the legislative proposals submitted to it by the Chamber of Deputies, the CPO may invite whomever it deems appropriate to hear. All Censors shall, of course, have the right to intervene in the debate. Also, the Censors will be divided into working groups or specialized committees that will prepare the topics to be presented to the CPO, i. e. the Censors meeting in general assembly. The CPO may naturally create or dissolve its Committees at will. It may also entrust all kinds of tasks to its members, who will then have full authority to carry them out.

It should be noted that in terms of laws, the role of the CPO will be to ratify them, not to make them, in which case the role of the Chamber of Deputies would be nil. However, it may request the latter to come up with laws on a given topic. That said, the Principle on which the institution of the Court of Public Opinion will be based as much on ratifying the draft laws that will be presented to it as on repealing the laws wrongly passed or that will have lost their usefulness.

But this will not limit its powers. Being the best and only representation of the People, no decision that is the sole responsibility of the People to take may be taken by an institution other than the Court of Public Opinion, at least without its approval and unless it calls for a referendum or the Constitution imposes such a referendum. (Its decisions will be final, because to whom could one appeal ?) To begin with, it will be the only interpreter of the Constitution that only the People can modify. It alone will also be able to : remove obstacles or raise obstacles in special cases that have not been provided for by law ; grant or lift diplomatic immunities ; authorize or not the arrival in France of foreign official figures and the travel abroad of French officials ; decide why, how and to whom the City will bestow honors or show its gratitude ; declare war ; etc. It may finally : provoke referendums on any object it deems appropriate (96) ; ratify itself or have the People ratify international treaties (97) ; decide to

(96) The possibility of calling referendums will not be the exclusive prerogative of the C. P. O. It will be offered to other institutions and the People themselves, not to mention the referendums provided for in the Constitution.

(97) Any international treaty, which commits one City to others, by definition commits all Citizens and must, therefore, be accepted by at least the majority of them. However, treaties can only be negotiated by the Government. But this does not in any way exempt the results of the negotiations from being submitted for ratification by the People or their representation, in this case, the C. P. O. How can

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open or stop major construction sites ; operate the police force ; launch or interrupt military operations (98) ; decree the partial or general mobilization of Citizens ; refer the matter to courts or raise itself to a supreme court, even a court-martial ; be seized as the last appeal ; etc.

Before continuing our presentation of the political institutions of the City, let us insist on the fact that the concept of the Court of Public Opinion only has meaning in Equality, which is why capitalism has never considered it, which is why the City must come to it. What is the point of such an institution when particular interests are by nature opposed to the general interest, when even unanimity cannot do anything against Mony's laws ? A CPO under these conditions would be no better than an assembly of elected Deputies and would even tend to paralyze the system. On the contrary, when Citizens are freed from Mony and truly equal in Rights, they will no longer be open to corruption, their interests will meet, and an assembly of Citizens drawn by lot will be able to claim to represent the People. Besides, the City will no longer have to solve insoluble problems, most of them financial. The administration will no longer be a matter for specialists but for Principles and common sense ; it will, therefore, be within the reach, if not of all, of the vast majority of Citizens.

But, since the elected representatives are themselves Citizens, having a priori the same aspirations as the Censors, won't the CPO be useless ? It is clear that the political divisions we know today, born of divisions generated largely by Mony, will no longer be necessary. But others will appear around, say, « philosophical » conceptions. However, their followers must not lose sight of the general interest, since it will be confused with their interest as ordinary Citizens. The same may not be true of the leaders of these new parties who, as they do today, will provide the bulk of the elected representatives. Because elected representatives, often from the same microcosm, cut off from

a country, i. e. the People, be committed without having made any commitment themselves ?

(98) An assembly necessarily takes longer to make decisions than an individual alone. However, there are occasions when time is of the essence. Without asking anyone for anything, the President will, therefore, be able to legally launch military operations. But the CPO, having returned from his surprise, may decide to interrupt them, if it manages to give its opinion. On the other hand, the granting of any reinforcements and their numbers will be up to it. Finally, if the City has time, if it is possible to consult the People, then they will be consulted.

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reality, full of themselves, naturally have ambition (for themselves or their party) and power and share common interests with other professionals in politics. They may, therefore, be led to abuse their position individually or collectively at the expense of the general interest and in disregard of the will of the People (99). That is why the Chamber of Deputies will have to find a real counter-power in a popular assembly.

A major challenge is to establish a political system that is consistent with the Principles and realistic. It is not necessary that by constantly subordinating everything to the People, the authorities can no longer exercise the power they have received from the People themselves. Nor should the authorities themselves, out of *esprit de corps*, spend their time fighting each other, losing sight of the fact that they were instituted by and for the People. On the contrary, each authority must be able, without deviating, to pursue the purpose of its institution ; it must do everything that the People expect from it, and nothing that can harm them.

The first thing to achieve this double goal is to institute counter-powers, but without multiplying them. Since all the authorities directly or indirectly hold their powers from the sovereign People, there will be only one legitimate counter-power in the City : the People or their constitutional representation : the Court of Public Opinion.

Theoretically, the authorities are there to do what the People cannot do by themselves. In practice, the People cannot do anything by themselves. That is why it delegates powers. This is also the reason why the City's Constitution will institute a popular counter-power. But, by its very nature, a counter-power indicates a distrust of power. Now the CPO which will be the manifestation of this popular mistrust will be the counter-power of the authorities who will have received the trust of the People ! The risk would, therefore, be that the CPO, strong in its legitimacy and free to intervene in all areas, would at any time hinder the authorities' progress and thus paralyze the City. The powers of the CPO must thus be recorded and limited by the Constitution, which only the

(99) What better example, to illustrate this danger, than the ratification by the National Assembly, on 13th February 2008, of the European Constitutional Treaty which, in a hardly different form, had been rejected by the French people on 29th May 2005, to the great displeasure of the deputies and the media.



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People can modify. This will apply to all authorities so that their powers do not overlap. But it is also and above all necessary that the opposition of the CPO be naturally restrained, that it be paralyzed when it is not frankly decided. The way to achieve this is, on the one hand, that all decisions of the CPO be taken by a two-thirds majority, and on the other hand, that the Censors do not have to approve all the decisions of these authorities, but can only oppose them if necessary. In the absence of opposition from at least two-thirds of the Censors, the CPO will be considered silent, and the authorities will be able to continue their activities without worrying about it.

However, there is an exception concerning Parliament, i. e. the Chamber of Deputies, which will be the legislative body of the city. The laws must be accepted by the People. It is therefore out of the question that, under the pretext that a large majority of Censors do not believe in a law, it should be imposed on the People without any consent. In this case, the lack of resolution of the CPO will not be considered as a tacit acceptance, but as a rejection of the bill. Will this not lead to blockages, either because the Chamber refuses to present to the CPO the laws it will request, or because the Censors cannot agree on a law, or because the CPO rejects good laws and approves bad ones ?

Let's start with the worst. When experience has proved that a law is bad, this law will inevitably be denounced and the CPO, invited to reconsider its mistake, which it will have no reason to deny because the Censors who will have to vote on this law will no longer be those who have ratified it. Once a good law has been rejected, it will only be delayed because the problem it was supposed to solve will remain. Then the facts themselves will argue in its favor. When the Censors are unable to reach an agreement, they may always provoke a referendum, unless, since this consultation seems excessive in relation to the subject matter, they leave things as they are until the future takes care of awakening the bill or keeps it in the shadows. Finally, when the Chamber of Deputies delays or stubbornly refuses to legislate on a subject that the CPO has presented to it, who will prevent it from legislating itself ? The Constitution ? Well, it will suffice that the Constitution stipulates that a request from the CPO must be processed by the Deputies within a certain time after which it will constitutionally be allowed to process it itself. In the end, the City will certainly not only be able to adopt laws but also that its laws

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will satisfy the general interest. Once the laws are adopted, they will be proclaimed by the CPO and will be the subject of intense publicity.

In all of this, the role of Deputies will be in these three words : to propose laws. Coming from all regions and political tendencies (100), they will be elected or mandated for 5 years, with the possibility of sitting only three times. A Citizen can therefore not be a Member of Parliament for more than 15 years in his or her life. Moreover, Citizens may not exercise two mandates at the same time, as they will be required to carry out each mandate accurately. But, it will be said, won't all these obstacles put to the ambition of Deputies drive the ambitious away from the benches of Parliament ? If they were to be deserted by the ambitious, would the City be worse off ? How dare we say that reaching one of the highest offices of the City, even for a relatively short time, will not flatter the pride of the ambitious and that there will be none to want to access it ? Finally, how can we believe that there will be no Citizens who have both convictions and the ambition to serve the City in its best interests and that they, far from being honored to be elected, will instead be slowed down in their zeal by considerations that escape them ? Let us, therefore, be doubly reassured : there will be candidates for the posts of Deputies, and they will no longer be able to usurp the sovereignty of the People.

Among the high functions of the City, the highest will be that of President of the Republic. No matter what you say, a group always needs a leader like a body (in this case the social body) with a head, and always ends up having a leader, if only for practical reasons. If this character is not officially chosen, he or she is unofficially chosen. But nothing is more dangerous than unofficial powers, because how can we limit what is not even supposed to exist ? Moreover, nothing is more unstable, because an unofficial leader can have more prestige than power. Facing all the jealousies, he can neither command nor defend himself. Let

(100) Deputies will first be elected by majority vote, at the regional level, at the rate of one per district of 100, 000 voters. The number of Deputies thus obtained shall be doubled by the addition of as many Deputies appointed by the various political parties in the running, each party having to designate a number proportional to the number of votes it has received at the national level. The latter Members will, of course, be chosen from among the non-elected candidates.

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us be clear : the Constitution must establish the presidential office. The question is how to choose the President.

To determine how or rather who should choose it, it is first necessary to know what the role of a President will be and what the risks of such an institution will be. A President will have the role of governing the City and being an interlocutor for the other Cities. The risk would be that he would usurp the sovereignty of the People and assume the title of Sovereign. To reduce this risk, one solution would be to weaken its legitimacy by entrusting Deputies with the task of electing him/her. But, in addition to the Chamber of Deputies going beyond its legislative role, the President would be both weak in the city and discredited towards foreigners. It could not properly fulfill its role either internally or externally. This is not the way to limit the risk or to choose the President.

The President of the City, following the Principle, must be chosen by the City, i. e. elected by all national Citizens. The term of office should not be too short or too long. The President will need sufficient time to undertake, if he or she so wishes, major projects, while being free of any consideration other than that of the public good. The CPO, for its part, will keep a close watch ; it will not have to approve the Government's decisions but may condemn them and annul them if at least two-thirds of the Censors agree with this opinion. Finally, the Constitution will prohibit the President from running again. Under these conditions, the presidential term could be about ten years, a duration that also ensures a certain stability both within the City and internationally.

Now, who can run ? To leave this freedom to everyone would be to multiply the number of candidates infinitely and make it impossible to organize elections and the Democracy grotesque. Without being determined, the number of candidates will, therefore, have to be limited. However, it seems natural to allow only Citizens of a certain notoriety and sure to win an honorable share of the vote to run for office. It is thus necessary that these Citizens, even before they can be candidates, prove to the City that they can attract votes. Moreover, who is legitimate to allow a Citizen to run, if not the People ? To be selected as a candidate, a Citizen must, therefore, have the official support of several ordinary national Citizens determined by the Constitution, a

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number that should not be too low or too high to avoid falling back into the failings that this provision seeks to avoid.

The election of the President of the Republic shall be by direct universal suffrage, by an absolute majority, in three rounds. All candidates will be in the first round. The five with the most votes will participate in the second round, which will select the two finalists for the third round. The first candidate to obtain an absolute majority of votes, regardless of the round, shall be proclaimed President.

But the President cannot govern alone. He will need assistance, Ministers who will compose with him the Government. Elected to govern, responsible for the Government, it will be up to the President to choose his assistants. To remove this prerogative would inevitably add individuals who would not have his trust, and introduce discord between Ministers as much as insubordination towards the President, thus paralyzing the Government's action. The President will, therefore, choose them as he sees fit.

However, we have just said that the appointment of Ministers by the President will guarantee their subordination to him. This reason imposes precisely an exception concerning the Minister of Justice, who is responsible for ensuring that everyone scrupulously respects the laws of the Republic, all the laws. For the judiciary to be effectively independent of the political power, its Minister must not hold its powers from the President himself. If he is to be subordinated, it can only be to the People. According to the Principles, he should, therefore, be elected by the People. But this would require elections and an election campaign for generally « obscure » figures to become known to the general public. In addition to the fact that it would be one more election, or even one too many, it would lead to practices that are more or less unworthy of a future Minister of Justice. Moreover, although the function of the Minister of Justice is precise, an election by universal suffrage would confer on him a legitimacy that would rival that of the President. It must not be. The Minister of Justice will consequently be chosen from among the magistrates by the CPO, which alone will be able to dismiss him from his duties. He will then be in office for an indefinite period, which will add to his independence from the political authorities.

The Government is established. All that remains is to limit its powers so that it can govern without abusing them. The legislative

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power shall belong to the Chamber of Deputies ; the executive power shall belong to the Government. Theoretically, the role of the Government will be to enforce laws. But in practice, the President will be elected to lead a policy. If it can be carried out within the existing legal framework, he will only need to make decisions. But if the legal framework is insufficient or unsuitable for his project, he will have to provide the City with new laws, which he will not be able to do on his authority. These laws will then have to be accepted, but by whom ? To whom should he submit them ? He could present them to the Chamber of Deputies, but what is the point since they will still need the consent of the CPO or the entire People, as the case may be. They might as well be presented directly to the CPO, which, moreover, will prevent the Chamber and the Deputies from stepping outside their role. For all that concerns new laws, i. e. new conventions, whether these conventions are national or international, the same Principle will be applied, namely ratification by the People. Undoubtedly the Government will sometimes be opposed (101), but what strength will the laws that have not been approved by the People have !

This is how Civism approaches the political organization of the City. But we have not yet said anything about the political atmosphere in the particular context of the City and Equality.

To begin with, Citizens equal in economic Rights will have equal political weight in the City for the same reason that the rich have a greater weight in inequality. It follows that just as under

(101) Lost referendums always upset those who initiated them. But failure will then be but an indirect condemnation of the government's general policy. When the People are frequently asked about specific questions, only these questions hold their attention. Referendums only become plebiscites when they are rare, when, through this rarity, the People are deprived of their sovereign right to ratify or sanction the acts and decisions of their Government. So some see referendums as an opportunity to express their confidence or mistrust in the Government, others as an opportunity to express (vaguely) everything that has been on their minds for a long time, and all answer a question other than the one put to them, whether that other question is an extension of the original question or a truly different question. Thus, on the 29th of May 2005, few French people spoke exclusively on the draft European Constitution submitted to them ; they expressed either their enthusiasm for Europe or for the idea they had of it, or their disagreement with the bureaucratic and anti-democratic way in which European integration (including its enlargement) had been conducted for years, or their opposition to (the continuation of) European integration.

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capitalism everything is in favor of the rich or inevitably favors them, whether it is the laws or the State, the action of the City and its laws will this time be to the advantage of all Citizens without distinction. And since the City acts through its political institutions, they will necessarily have to be adapted to this new situation and will be by force of democratic factors. (102).

Moreover, Citizens will no longer dream of conquering their fundamental rights : thanks to the civic Card, they will enjoy them without anyone being able to do anything about it. Political divisions will therefore no longer be based on questions of life or death, freedom or oppression, but on more trivial issues which, while seeming important to their contemporaries, will probably not lead Citizens to hate each other and to tear each other apart.

Finally, political parties will not be companies in the eyes of the City ; politics will not be considered as participation in the life of the City, except in the case of elected officials or even candidates during election campaigns. In other words, political commitment (like religious commitment) will be unrestricted but will be a matter of private life. Thus, no Citizen in politics will be cut off from the realities of the City and everyone will share the fate of their fellow Citizens. Let us add that not only will the question of the financing of political parties no longer arise, but all parties, regardless of their size, will have the same material resources. Undoubtedly they will have the weakness for a while to favor show over words... but will the Citizens be impressed by it for a long time at their own expense ?

To sum up :

### **THE CITY'S POLITICAL FRAMEWORK**

**1.** A President of the Republic, head of Government and armed forces, elected by direct universal suffrage, for a single 10-year term.

(102) Those who fear that the City may fall into a form of dictatorship should recognize that all known examples of this have been set in the context of inequality and with the aim of maintaining, increasing or restoring inequality ; they should then ask themselves who could support a dictator, what would be his purpose and how he would achieve it, knowing that Equality will be unalterable. It soon becomes clear that Equality does not lend itself to any form of dictatorship and that, in one way or another, it involves democratic institutions.

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- All national Citizens who have collected in their favor the number of signatures of their fellow Citizens required by the Constitution may stand for election as President.
  - The unelected candidates who reached the second round of the last election and the candidate of the outgoing President's party will automatically be in the running for the presidential election.
  - The presidential elections will be held in three rounds. The five candidates who received the most votes in the first round will participate in the second round, from which the two finalists for the third round will emerge.
2. A Government composed of Ministers appointed by the President of the Republic from among the national Citizens of his choice.
3. A Minister of Justice appointed by the Court of Public Opinion for an indefinite period.
4. A Chamber of Deputies elected or appointed for 5 years, with the possibility of serving a maximum of three terms.
- Each district of about 100, 000 voters will elect one Deputy, in the same way as the presidential election.
  - In addition to the elected Deputies, there will be as many Deputies appointed by the different political movements that have nominated candidates, each of whom must designate a number proportional to the number of votes they have received at the national level.
5. A Court of Public Opinion (C. P. O.) composed of Censors drawn by lot from among all national Citizens, who must be volunteers to serve on it, for one year.
- The Censors, three times more numerous than the Deputies, will be renewed by a third.
  - A Citizen may only be a Censor once in his life.
  - A Citizen occupying or having occupied the position of Censor shall be exempt, if he or she so wishes, from weeks of service.

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### **FUNCTIONS AND FUNCTIONING OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS**

- 1.** The President and Government will constitute the executive body of the City. Their role will be to govern according to the laws accepted by the People.
- 2.** The Chamber of Deputies will be the exclusively legislative body of the City. Its role will be limited to presenting draft laws to the Court of Public Opinion.
- 3.** The Court of Public Opinion shall be considered as the representation of the People. Its role will be, in the first instance, to accept or reject the draft laws submitted to it by the Chamber of Deputies and the Government.
- 4.** All decisions of the CPO will be taken by a 2/3 majority. A draft law that does not bring together at least 2/3 of the Censors in its favor will be rejected.
- 5.** The CPO may not itself make laws, except in the event that the Chamber of Deputies does not submit to it within the time limits prescribed by the Constitution those which it has requested on a given matter.
- 6.** The CPO will not have to approve the Government's decisions but may oppose them if at least 2/3 of the Censors are against them.
- 7.** The CPO shall be the only institution authorized to interpret the Constitution adopted by the People, and only the People may amend it by referendum.
- 8.** Apart from the referendums provided for by the Constitution, only the President, the CPO and the People can provoke them.
- 10.** The CPO will receive all complaints, deal with them itself or refer them with recommendations to the competent authorities. In some cases, it may be constituted as a Court-martial or High court of justice.
- 11.** The CPO's decisions, in any field whatsoever, shall be final, they may only be reviewed by the CPO itself or broken only by the People.



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**12.** All decisions that the CPO succeeds in taking shall have the force of law. It may take some of any kind and in any field, except those specified by the Constitution.

The principle of popular counter-power adopted at the national level will also be applied at the municipal level because the election of a mayor (103) must not make him a lord. The People from whom he gets his powers and who may have elected him by default remains the Sovereign. It is, therefore, necessary to find a way to allow the mayor to exercise the functions for which he was elected despite everything and to take decisions without these being arbitrary and contrary to the will of the People. It is therefore above all the People who must be allowed to express themselves and to have a real but reasonable influence outside the elections.

According to the Constitution, the districts will be divided into a number of Municipalities, covering the electoral districts. Each Municipality will have a permanent space to hold its meetings according to the timetable it has adopted (104). The sessions will be public, all Citizens will be free to attend, but only national Citizens will have the right to express themselves and vote. They will vote by a show of hands, brandishing their civic Cards. Decisions will be taken by a majority of votes. National Citizens may only vote in their Municipality, but may speak before any other Municipality in the District and even in the country, provided that they are mandated to do so. Municipalities may maintain relations with each other by correspondence or delegation.

Concerning the Municipality, the Municipalities may initiate local referendums, which shall have the force of law. But a Municipality will not be able to provoke it alone. It can only throw the idea. A referendum project will only be adopted if it is ratified by an absolute majority of the Municipalities of the district or by a third party only if the others do not contest it within a month. In the

(103) Mayors will be elected for 10 years, by universal suffrage, with the possibility of being re-elected once.

(104) The Municipalities will determine the frequency and dates of their meetings themselves so that their members are informed and as many people as possible can attend. The law could not set such an advantageous timetable, because, depending on the Municipalities, the number and enthusiasm of national Citizens, and the circumstances, it would impose sessions either too rare or too frequent, which would upset this institution.

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case of small districts with only one or two Municipalities, referendums will be held if the only Municipality decides by a two-thirds majority, or if an absolute majority is obtained for the project in both Municipalities.

Once the principle of a referendum has been adopted, it must take place within three months. If it concerns a project of the Municipality or a project authorized by it, it must be suspended until the result is achieved, and abandoned in the event of a negative vote. Anyone who obstructs by any means whatsoever the holding of meetings or the activity of a Municipality, the freedom of speech or voting of national Citizens, the organization or conduct of a referendum, whoever passes over his verdict will be liable to denaturalization and 10 years of exclusion from the social body (loss of Citizenship).

### 2. The civic Card and the others

To access the City's market, Citizens will have a civic Card. Without it, it is impossible to obtain anything, impossible to live in the City. In principle, only Citizens will, therefore, have access to its benefits. But not only Citizens will live in the City. Their children will also be living there.

The children will be primarily dependent on their parents, who, being Citizens, will be able to provide for all their needs. But, while it is natural for children to be dependent on their parents, it is also healthy for children to enjoy a certain degree of independence from them. However, without a civic Card, no independence is possible. Since it cannot grant children a civic Card, an attribute of Citizenship, the City must institute special cards for them.

As in everything else, the institution in charge of these cards will have two functions : to meet the legitimate expectations of children and to satisfy the general interest, i. e. to be useful to the City. It is from this point of view alone that the issue must be considered.

The procreation and protection of parents caring for their offspring is intended to perpetuate the species. However, protecting it is not enough to achieve this goal. Parents also have a natural obligation to prepare their children to survive on their own. But, when parents are Citizens, these obligations become Duties, and these Duties are also those of the City. It is no longer a question of teaching children to survive alone, but of living in a community. In other words, the City sees its future in the children of its Citizens, a future that it must prepare by instilling in them its values, its Principles, by teaching them how it works and by allowing them to develop the capacities that are in them and that it will need. In a word, it must make them men and gradually make them aware of what Citizenship is, so that, when the time comes, they will integrate the City under the best conditions, both from their point of view and from its own. The cards that the children will have in their hands will help the City in this task.

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Fatally, these cards will give children purchasing power (105). But should this purchasing power be uniform for all children or in relation to their age and needs or rather their legitimate desires ? The answer is obvious. Before asking it, let us observe that an individual's independence from his parents is null at birth, total when he is a Citizen. Without a card, children would suddenly go from zero to total independence. Such a variation would probably cause psychological distress to many of them, with incalculable and damaging consequences both for them and for the City. And what about the psychological consequences of a childhood frustrated with independence ? So certainly the City must not deprive parents of an influence over their children, especially since it will hold them partly responsible for their behavior, but it must also satisfy the legitimate and growing desire of children for independence, an independence that is also necessary for their development. All these reasons strongly argue in favor of a card system with purchasing power adapted to each age.

For the same reasons, a minimum age for receiving a card should be set, below which children are by nature dependent on their parents and would otherwise be unable to use it. Indeed, the use of these cards, like that of current credit cards, will require, among other security systems, the knowledge of a specific encrypted code. The children will, therefore, have to be of an age to know the numbers. They can probably learn to count before age or know the numbers without knowing how to count or even recognize them by ignoring both ! Let us assume, however, that children only learn and know how to count from what is called the P. C., Preparatory Course, i. e. around the age of six.

Two questions then arise : Should the types of cards be linked to the age group or school class ? When do we start giving a card to children ?

Once again, the answer lies in the very purpose of these cards, namely to instill in children the « values » of the City. However, in the City, no Rights will be linked to age (106). It would, therefore, be a very bad start to the education of children to put in their minds that age is the basis for any claim and that it

(105) A purchase made by a child will have the same weight as if it had been made by an adult. For the merchant and the City, a child will be a customer like any other.

(106) This is not entirely accurate. Some Rights will be more or less linked to age, but age will never be their first condition.

## II. RESULTING MEASURES AND NECESSARY ADJUSTMENTS

is enough to know how to be patient to finally enjoy Rights. No ! Rights in the City will have to be earned, and children will have to learn it. The handing over of these cards (107) which will be for them like a passport to independence will thus be conditioned by a merit at their level... and what can this merit be if not the obtaining of their passage in the higher school class ? It follows that children will not have a card as long as they are at the P. C. Pressed by the desire to have a card, jealous of their young elders who will have one, and having no other way than to follow in their footsteps to have one in turn, this will only encourage them to study and succeed in their first school year.

In addition to this advantage, the cards will have the effect of accustoming children to Equality since all students of the same school level will have the same purchasing power. No doubt the young idiots will think that it is enough to do the minimum to have as much as the others. But they will soon discover that having or being able to have, however useful it may be, is not an end in itself, and soon they will no longer attach any importance to what they will have and even less to what others will have. The most intelligent, on the other hand, will immediately understand that rewards are less in what we receive from others, in this case from the City, than in our self-esteem. In short, the cards will quickly cease to appear to children as rewards or even as a goal. It won't take a long time to realize that, even if cards are deserved, they don't give you any glory. Students at a given grade level may, undeniably, envy those at the higher level or, more simply, be eager to enjoy the same rights as they do. But, on a day-to-day basis, students of the same level who by nature need to distinguish themselves from each other, and can only compete with their classmates and equals, will not see their card and its purchasing power as any help in this regard. All of them being able to have potentially the same thing (either by themselves or by their parents), they will seek to distinguish themselves by their actions. But what can they do that is worthy of the admiration of their comrades ? What will these children admire if not academic success and all the human qualities that contribute to it or do not compromise it, in a nutshell, the talents and virtues ? Thus, in the City, children will have no other ambition than to shine among

(107) The cards will be handed out at school, during a solemn ceremony, at the beginning of the second week of class (so that students are not disturbed at the beginning of the school year).

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their equals ; their glory will be the recognition of their virtues, and their goal, to develop them. What Citizens they will become !

We now need to address the practical issues. First, how will the purchasing power of child-specific cards be limited ?

As far as civic Cards are concerned, their purchasing power will theoretically be indefinite. In practice and for common sense, the law may limit in terms of quantity (over a certain period) or even prohibit access to certain products. The application of the law will consist, not in controlling the purchases of Citizens, but in inserting computer data into the City's database, which will set up each Citizen's account, so that prohibited purchases cannot be recorded by merchants and will be prevented. But these restrictions - which reasonable Citizens will not feel - will be both exceptional, because their multiplication would be contrary to the Freedom on which Equality relies to generate responsible people and a naturally balanced system, and external to the civic Cards, since they can be implemented and modified without Citizens having to change their Cards.

For children's cards, things will be reversed. They will only provide access to a limited list of products or services, and each list, at each grade level, will correspond to a different type of card. The law will therefore not determine, as it does for Citizens, the products and services to which children will not have access, but will specify those to which they will have the right to access through their card. Restrictions on children's purchasing power will no longer be external to their card, but linked to it, as much as the specific rights it will open up.

It goes without saying that the products and services to which a child card will give access will depend on the normal age of the pupils of the school level in question and their supposed needs at that age, and that their list will increase from one class to the next, without however going so far as to ensure total autonomy for children vis-à-vis their parents, or to allow adults to live on the same card. On the other hand, children's purchasing power on the products made available to them will be unlimited, for two reasons : 1) because the City will not bother to limit it, unless necessary, 2) because the purchasing power of civic Cards will not be further limited (in theory) and because it will be good that future Citizens learn as early as possible the harmful effects of abuse and the benefits of moderation. Once again, the cards will be an educational tool for the City. With them, children will truly be

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at the school of Equality, in addition to being at the school of the Republic.

That said, neither the needs of children nor their desires are growing dramatically from one year to the next. It would, therefore, be ridiculous to draw up a different list for all twelve levels of schooling (108). It will, therefore, be necessary to make different categories of school grades. We will consider five of them.

Since the first level (current P. C.) is not concerned, the first category will only include the second level ; the second, the levels from 3 to 5 ; the third, the levels from 6 to 9 ; the fourth, the levels 10 and 11 ; the fifth and last, the only 12th level. The cards in each category will have a different color, each color varying in tone, from light to dark, depending on the grade level.

But, as it may be argued, this tiered system partially undermines the incentives that will be created by cards with significantly different purchasing power for each grade level. This will not be the case. First, the psychological effect will be obtained in the first two years. Thereafter, children, aware of the meaning of colors (academic success, higher purchasing power), will not look at their cards with indifference and will attach a price to obtaining the next grade card. They will be proud to be able to show it off once they have obtained it. As for those who have failed their year, they will be very sorry not to have the same card as their former classmates and will not be able to boast to their new classmates that they have had the same card for a year now. We can safely bet that this will encourage them to stop repeating this experience. The goal will hence be well achieved.

Finally, since these cards are reserved for children and teenagers, the City will no longer grant them beyond the age of 21, to take into account possible repetitions and to prevent young people from staying unnecessarily long in school instead of entering the workforce or pursuing higher education.

(108) We will call these degrees by their number, except for the first one which is called Preparatory Course :

P. C.	6-7 years old	5	10-11 years old	9	14-15 years old
2	7-8 years old	6	11-12 years old	10	15-16 years old
3	8-9 years old	7	12-13 years old	11	16-17 years old
4	9-10 years old	8	13-14 years old	12	17-18 years old

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Another category of people who can access the City's market without being part of it : tourists. We will see later, in the chapter on international exchanges, how Citizens will be able to travel abroad. Here, it is just a question of showing that the City's gate will not be closed to foreigners.

First of all, let us specify what the City will mean by tourists, not to be confused with non-naturalized or foreign Citizens of France. A tourist will simply be a foreign Citizen, i. e. a Citizen of another City or a national of another country who has come to France either for his pleasure or his work. In both cases, his City or his country must act as guarantor for him, because it is only on this condition that the host City, in this case, France, will allow him to enter its territory and access its market by means of a card that he will receive for the duration of his stay.

But tourists will only pass through the City, so to speak. The purchasing power that their card will give them will not be that of the Citizens. It will have to be established taking into consideration both their tourist situation and the interest of the City.

Tourists should have access to everything that will make their stay as pleasant as possible. The only things they will not be able to access will be those they will not be allowed to bring home, including some imported products. These restrictions, which will not disturb tourists who come to France for tourism and not their *shopping*, will have several reasons and purposes.

The first reason is that, although everything will seem to be free in the City, nothing will be free for it, especially imported products. It would, therefore, be contrary to the interests of the City to allow tourists to save at home while waiting to come and shop at its expense. The second reason is that allowing tourists to acquire certain goods produced by the City « free of charge » would be contrary to the interests of capitalist countries producing and selling the same kind of goods in their countries, which would see this as a loss of income and unfair competition. These countries will likely themselves prohibit their nationals from bringing back goods of this kind from France.

These moreover necessary restrictions will, therefore, have the immediate aim of preventing tourists from abusing the City's hospitality and, at the same time, avoiding conflicts with their countries of origin. But they will also be useful in the eyes of the City, from a political point of view, because, by not allowing



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tourists to acquire certain goods, by forcing them to buy them in their country, they will generate a feeling of frustration, even anger, which will encourage them to make the Revolution at home so that they no longer have to pay what the Citizens of France will already have free access to. Tourism will thus be the best form of propaganda in favor of Equality since tourists will finally be able to see it at work and enjoy its advantages temporarily and each of them, whatever their condition in their own country, will be equal to their compatriots during their stay. How, after this experience, will returning tourists still be able to cope with financial worries and accept inequalities ? How, knowing that Equality is possible and beneficial, will they be able to prevent themselves from calling on their compatriots to destroy Mony ?

As for the tourists' children, they too will have a card, with the same purchasing power as children of their age in France who have reached the normal school level.

Finally, some products, by their nature or quantity, will not be accessible to Citizens as private persons as only companies will be able to use them. Their access will, therefore, be restricted to the latter. However, the means of access will remain the same, hence the City's obligation to provide companies with what we shall call *professional* cards, which will logically be held and usable only by the companies' purchasing managers. Purchases made through these cards will be recorded on the companies' accounts, allowing the City to control their supplies as well as their suppliers and to prevent fraud and trafficking.

To sum up :

### SPECIFIC CARDS

1. Children, companies, and tourists will have specific cards.
2. All these cards will, like the civic Cards, be identity documents and will only allow access to the market to those to whom the City has entrusted them.
3. Children will have a card from their second school year until they reach the age of 21 at the latest. It will be given to them at the beginning of the school year, during a ceremony.

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- 4.** The 12 different school levels will be divided into 5 categories :  
1) 2nd school level, 2) 3rd to 5th school level, 3) 6th to 9th school level, 4) 10th and 11th school level, 5) 12th school level. Each child will receive the card corresponding to the category to which he/she will belong and the grade he/she will have reached.
- 5.** The purchasing power conferred by children's cards will increase from one category to the next. It will be constant for all school levels in the same category.
- 6.** The cards in each category will be a different color. The cards in each grade in the same category will be distinguished by a shade of that color, which will always range from light to dark.
- 7.** Children, depending on their category, will have unlimited purchasing power through their cards over all the goods and services to which the law will give them access.
- 8.** The law will determine the goods and services to which children in a given category may have access according to the legitimate needs and desires of students of the normal age for that category.
- 9.** Companies will have business cards allowing their representatives to access certain goods or products in certain quantities.
- 10.** There will be different categories of goods and products reserved for professionals, with professional cards allowing companies to access only those they may need.
- 11.** Foreign tourists will have a card allowing them to access everything, except for goods that they will not be allowed to bring home, including products imported by the City.
- 12.** Unless the tourists' children are enrolled in school in France, in which case they will be subject to the same laws as the children of France, they will be provided with a card equivalent to that of the normal school grade for their age.

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### 3. Card validation

The civic Card will allow Citizens, as consumers, to prove to traders that they are Citizens and therefore obtain permission to access the market and obtain whatever they want from it. No one may use someone else's Card. A Card in the hands of an individual other than its owner or an individual whose Citizenship has not been confirmed will be considered invalid since, in either case, it will not allow access to the market. On the other hand, we will say for convenience that a Card in the hands of a Citizen will be valid.

It is not, therefore, his Card that will be valid, but his Citizenship that will be certified thanks to it. However, Citizenship will confer Rights that must be permanently earned through the fulfillment of Duties, so that it will never be definitively acquired, at least in theory. But the city will not be able to deliver it on a day-to-day basis, especially since this precariousness would be unbearable for Citizens. Citizenship will, therefore, be acquired by periods of more or less long duration (as is currently the case of a salary or remuneration) depending on the form of participation of the Citizens, periods during which their civic Card will appear valid. There will therefore be a direct relationship between the periods of effective Citizenship and the validity of the Cards. This is why it is possible to ignore all these subtleties and talk about a *valid Card* to simply say that an individual is a Citizen, or the *validation of Cards* to say that the City recognizes the Citizenship of the individuals concerned.

The validation of the Cards will be primarily linked to the fact of participating in the life of the City. However, there will be different forms of participation, not all of which can be observed in the same way or at the same time, hence the different validation methods, four in number : permanent, parallel, deferred and temporary.

Let's start with the simplest one : the permanently valid civic Cards.

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This might seem contrary to what we have just said, namely that Citizenship cannot be definitively acquired. However, we have made it clear that this is only theoretical. Indeed, insofar as the City will not require pensioners and disabled people to participate in the life of the City to be Citizens, the validation of their Card will not be conditional on the fulfillment of this Duty and their Card will, therefore, be permanently valid. Retired and disabled persons, unless they commit a crime punishable by a temporary or permanent suspension of Citizenship, will, therefore, be able to enjoy peaceful days and be protected from misfortune.

We will deal with the issue of retirees in the next chapter. Let us look here at the particular case of the disabled.

But first, what is a disabled person? Who can answer this question? Indeed, the answer lies primarily with individuals. Undoubtedly, the one who sees in his disability only disability is indeed a disabled person. What about the one who surpasses it, who accepts it to draw new strength? Not only does he not consider himself a disabled person, but he even manages to make others forget his disability. But what would it be like if the City declared him disabled under the pretext that it observed in him what is *a priori* a disability? It would destroy him morally and make him truly disabled. That would be both an insult and a crime.

The City will therefore not define what a disabled person is. It should be limited to identifying the disabilities that will allow individuals with disabilities to apply for and obtain a Permanent Validity Card. For the same reasons, it may, at the request of the persons concerned, suspend the permanent nature of their Card. Finally, it should be noted that holders of permanent validity Cards will not be required to participate in the life of the City, but this will in no way prevent them from participating voluntarily, at their own pace and to the extent of their means. Companies will even have an interest in using them (see Chapter 7). Thus the City will do everything possible to ensure that disabilities are no longer tares, nor the disabled excluded. Needless to say, in all cases, an individual with a disability will have access to all possible and imaginable care. The City will no longer talk about respecting the dignity of the disabled... it will respect it.

It should be noted, however, that having a permanent civic Card will require a minimum of autonomy on the part of the person concerned. Why would the City grant one to individuals

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who are unable to use it, who are fully cared for, and for whom Citizenship will be the least of their worries if they are still in a position to care about anything at all ?

Let us now look at the validation mode that will probably be the most common (among Workers) : parallel validity.

This type of validation will concern all employees, i. e. all Citizens who will participate in the life of the City by working within a company. Because companies will have, like every Citizen, the Duty to participate in the life of the City. However, they will only exist to the extent that the City considers that they fulfill their Duty to it, which will imply that their employees also fulfill theirs. It will therefore not need to control the activity of each employee : it will suffice for it to know that an individual is part of a company for it to consider him/her as a Citizen and validate his/her Card. The validity period of the Employee Cards will, therefore, correspond to the exact time they will spend in their company, in other words from the day they enter it to the day they leave it, hence the notion of parallelism. The civic Card of a Citizen who will never stop working, whether in the same company or several consecutive ones, will, therefore, be valid at all times.

The most delicate mode of validation, because it is the least systematic, will be deferred validity.

This type of validation will correspond to all the activities whose reality or usefulness for the City cannot be certified except after the fact, the more or less temporary activities that many Citizens try as amateurs and that only a few manage to practice as professionals. This type of validation will mainly concern the literary and artistic fields. In these areas, the City will have no way of knowing whether a work in progress is of any interest and deserves that its author enjoys the Right of access to the « achievements » of others. Let us remember, moreover, that the market, i. e. the Citizens as consumers and not the City as a State, will be the sole judge of the usefulness of a production or service. Activities of this kind, often carried out outside any official framework or company, will therefore not only be unknown to the City before their fruits are placed on the market, if they are ever placed on the market, but the City will not even have to consider them as a participation giving rise to Rights if it appears that these fruits, rightly or wrongly, do not interest Citizens.

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Let us first take the case of writers. On the one hand, the City will only be able to know that a Citizen writes when he has completed his work. On the other hand, she will only be able to see in him a writer if it is read by a significant, i. e. relatively large, audience. A work that is not distributed in any form whatsoever or only a handful of copies are distributed will be of no interest to the City and will not earn its author any recognition on its part. Why would it grant him a Right to everything in exchange for nothing ? Why should he have the Right to enjoy the efforts of others when no one takes advantage of his own ? Participating in the life of the City will consist in the first place in bringing to the City what it will need or desire. Anyone who acts only based on strictly personal considerations encourages the risk of not being considered in return by the City. For, let us imagine that the City, showing naivety, recognizes as a writer the smallest writer and that all Citizens, without any idea, talent or reader, can devote themselves exclusively to writing... who would then produce even the necessary material to write ? No one. Citizens would, therefore, be entitled to everything in theory, and nothing on which to exercise their Right in practice. That would be absurd.

It is therefore established that a work must have reached a certain level of distribution or success for the City to take into account the efforts of its author and validate its Card. But this validation will necessarily be deferred. Two questions then arise : from when will his Card be valid, and for how long ? Since it can't be valid as soon as the work is placed on the market, i. e. before its distribution and success can be noted, the Card can only be validated once the City has decided on the work. (We will see later who will then speak on behalf of the City, but let us note, once again, that it will not be a question of judging the content of the work.) Moreover, this validity, which is not permanent, will inevitably be temporary. However, according to common sense, what should the validity period of the Card depend on ? First, the time he has devoted to the realization of his work since this activity will finally be recognized as a participation in the life of the City. The success of his work may also be taken into account to a certain extent (according to criteria defined by law), but without excess, because the Rights of a Citizen must not be based for life on the acts of a moment. Effort, merit, and genius will be recognized but will not exempt you from constantly fulfilling your Duties !

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An author whose work has been recognized by the City will, therefore, have a period during which his civic Card will be valid. However, he must have a valid Card before obtaining this recognition. He must therefore either officially participate in the life of the City other than by writing and write as an amateur, or he must have already written a recognized work for which his Card will currently be valid. In the first case, he will be able either to continue his first activity without taking care of the validity period he has earned, since, being already a Citizen, he will not need it, or to interrupt his *food* activity and ask that his Card remain valid for the period of time he has been granted. As for a writer who is already recognized, the validity period he acquires for a new work will be added and will extend the period he is currently using up.

The principle will be the same for artistic activities, at least for independent « artists », in particular sculptors and painters. Differences will arise in the way in which their reality and public utility are acknowledged. Indeed, it will *a priori* be easier to see the reality of a writer's work through the distribution of his writings (or his music in the case of a singer) than that of a sculptor or a painter who, for each original work, can only have one client. From this point of view, the City cannot consider as a work of public utility a work from which only a handful of individuals will benefit.

However, art is necessary for the existence and greatness of civilizations. The City will, therefore, need to allow artists to live and will have to find a way to recognize them. They will have several options. They will then be able to produce and manage to have their work recognized by the City (through exhibitions, for example) and to obtain from it, on a deferred basis, a certain period of validity for their Card, the least common case. They will also be able, even before they are recognized as artists by the City, to incorporate as companies, which will simplify things for them and for the City, in which case they will see everything related to companies (109). They will also be able, if they do not

(109) As a single company, an artist will have, like any company, annual sales or customer results to achieve (Cf. Part II, Chapter 6, Commissions). The level of these results will, of course, depend on the particular nature of its activity. It will not be too high not to induce him to sacrifice his art to satisfy his results, but he must not be too low either, because his results must prove to the City that he is not lacking inspiration and that he is well worthy of the status of an artist. In any case,

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set up their own business, to integrate an existing business. They will finally be able to present an artistic project to the City, or even be solicited by it, and obtain the validation of their Card for a certain time, the time for them to carry it out, in which case see below.

Finally, the last validation mode : temporary validity. Unlike the deferred validity, which will also be *temporary*, but following a production, the said temporary validity will be granted by the City before any action is taken to justify it. For the City, it will be a question of allowing Citizens, outside the framework of a company, to engage in an activity, if not of public utility, at least likely to interest a public. To this end, it will provide for the validation of their Card from a given date, for a fixed time, although this period may, in certain circumstances, be extended or shortened. This type of validation will concern : elected officials, Ministers, Censors, jurors, Commissioners, etc., but also entrepreneurs and employees of newly created companies, as well as short-term project managers, organizers of « cultural » events, artists, etc.

Thus the City, like the monetary system, will have its laws. It will also have its advantages and disadvantages, as slavery and freedom each have their own. There are some things that it will no longer be possible to do, others that are impossible to do today and others that can still be done but through different laws. It will be up to the Citizens to use these in their best interests. It should also be noted that, while the validation of a Card will be necessary to carry out an activity as a professional, there is no law preventing a Citizen from practicing as an amateur, for his pleasure, all those he wants.

It is time to mention a particular case that will fall under the three validation modes : permanent, parallel and temporary.

All able-bodied Citizens will be required to participate in the life of the City. But participating is not synonymous with working. Work is only one form of participation among many others, and we already know that elected officials, people temporarily called to public office and students will be Citizens without being

its Rights will then depend on its activity in general and not on each particular work.



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considered as Workers. The police, firefighters, military, magistrates and others we have not mentioned will be in the same situation. However, the most important category of people, from a quantitative point of view, to be concerned by this notion of participation outside of Labor will be that of stay-at-home spouses.

Society needs to perpetuate itself. It, therefore, needs its Citizens to have children. But it also needs the children who will be the Citizens of tomorrow to be educated, balanced, in a word, sane, which implies that they should not be left to themselves or mistreated, that they should be supervised, helped and loved, a role that falls first and foremost to natural parents, or in some cases step-parents or adopted parents, and ultimately to Society. It is thus a service to the Society to take good care of its children. This occupation of capital importance must hence be considered as a participation in the life of the City and exempt from Labor. However, the City cannot exempt all parents from Labor under penalty of having its working population reduced to nothing. The notion of a stay-at-home spouse will therefore only concern declared couples with at least one dependent child, only one of the spouses (at least not both at the same time) and only if one (or each of them in turn) wishes to benefit from this exemption. In the event of separation without a new union, the (last) spouse who benefited from this exemption will still benefit from it for a maximum of six months, whether or not he or she has custody of the child, while he or she finds a job.

Theoretically, the Labor exemption granted to one of the parents should last until the couple's last child is autonomous. Without going into detail about all the possible situations, the City will consider that a child is autonomous at the age of 21. In general, each child will, therefore, grant his or her parents an exemption from Labor until he or she reaches the age of 21, which will result in a Positive Time credit. This Positive Time credit will be available to the couple or, more precisely, to one of the spouses.

But, the City, which must take into account the legitimate interests of the children, those of the parents and its own, must consider some particular cases.

A child may be disabled from birth or as a result of an accident and may never be able to become fully independent. In this case, the exemption from Labor granted to couples so that one of the

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spouses can take care of their child (s) cannot be limited in time. It is, of course, possible for parents to place their child in a suitable institution. But should the City enter into this kind of consideration when faced with parents struggling as best they can ? Moreover, and the following remark applies to all situations, spouses who are exempt from Labor will not spend all their time behind their children ; they will take advantage of this time to take care of the home, to have all kinds of activities and perhaps even a job, in which case they will enter the market under favorable conditions (such as pensioners and some disabled people) that will eventually compensate for their lack of professional experience or even school or university training. It is also a bet that, in a system where participation in the life of the City will be the first Duty of the Citizen and where Citizens will be aware of what Citizenship implies, everyone will seek to contribute to the common good in the usual form and will succeed in doing so, even those who are *a priori* exempt from it.

It is therefore not to be feared that these exemptions, even if apparently abusive, will deprive the City of the potential of its Citizens. However, there is no reason why the City should grant them to spouses whose spouses will not participate in the life of the City, that is, to slacker couples. The exemption granted to one will not exempt the other. A couple could live with only one civic Card, but the City does not have to support freeloaders. It will therefore only grant Positive Time or a permanent civic Card to spouses whose spouses have a valid civic Card.

A final special case could be that of couples with three or more children. The usefulness, both from a social and a human point of view, of granting one of the spouses a permanent civic Card is not lost on anyone. It would also be ridiculous for the City to require a person who spent his youth caring for his children to start working as he or she gets older, especially since he or she will probably find a new occupation with his or her grandchildren.

To sum up :

### VALIDATION OF CIVIC CARDS

1. Civic Cards, depending on the type of activity of Citizens, will be validated according to four possible validation modes : permanent, parallel, deferred, temporary.

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- 2.** The permanent validation will exempt from the Duty to participate in the life of the City. It will concern pensioners, some disabled people, and some parents.
- 3.** Parallel validation will involve employees from all companies. Their Card will be validated on the day they are hired until the day they leave or their company is liquidated.
- 4.** The deferred validation will mainly concern artists. The duration of their Card's validity will be determined by the City based on the time they have devoted to their work and, to a certain extent, its success.
- 5.** The temporary validation will be a period of validity granted by the City to enable the concerned Citizens to fulfill a mission or set up a project of public interest towards the City.
- 6.** A valid civic Card will attest to the cardholder's Citizenship, i. e. his or her participation in the life of the City, but will in no case exempt the Cardholder from his or her other Duties.

### **STAY-AT-HOME SPOUSES**

- 1.** Any couple (a man and a woman) with one or two children will have a Positive Time credit until the last child reaches the age of 21, a time that one of the two spouses can use alone or that they can each use in turn.
- 2.** Couples with one disabled child or three or more children will be able to benefit if they so wish and for only one of the two spouses, from a permanent exemption from Labor, in other words, a civic Card that will be valid for life.
- 3.** This exemption from Labor granted to parents by the City will be subject to specific obligations towards children under penalty of sanctions. It will be up to the City to define these obligations and the corresponding sanctions in the event of failure by the parents.
- 4.** A divorce, separation or loss of Citizenship of one of the spouses will cancel these provisions after six months. The death of a child or spouse who was exempted will not change these provisions.

### 4. Retirement

With retirement, we reach a point almost as essential as the civic Card, because, unlike the latter, which alone will allow us to enjoy the benefits of the City and will be the keystone of equality in Rights, nothing will better encourage Citizens to participate in the life of the City, which will make it the driving force behind the Duties.

First of all, let us agree on what retirement will be like. This will be the period of their lives during which Citizens will now be exempted from participating in the life of the City, because of the services they have already provided to it. But why will the City thus exempt Citizens from serving it for part of their lives, which is *a priori* contrary to the Principles ? Why this generosity ? Quite simply because the City can afford it because it will no longer need their help. This is the only real reason why, under certain conditions, Citizens may be exempted from participating in the life of the City without losing any of their Rights.

It would be a mistake to believe that retirement will be a matter of old age or disability. For then, why would the City grant it to elderly Citizens, certainly, but not that old, and, above all, still able, if not in great shape ? Animal Societies that apply the Principles to the letter do not pay so much attention to the disabled and the elderly : they abandon them and deprive them of all Rights (110). Will we say, to make up for it, that after a lifetime of hard work, they have well deserved to rest or enjoy life ? But this argument is still inadmissible, because if the City needed all its members to serve it until their last breath, there would be no retirement.

The introduction of retirement is therefore not justified by the state of the pensioners or by the way in which they hope to make use of it, but rather by the City's ability to do without the help of

(110) Although it is incorrect to talk about Society when talking about people living in monetary systems, let us remember that the concept of retirement is a recent one. Let us remember that, until the 19th century, workers killed themselves to the task. The elderly and infirm were treated no better among humans than among animals, often only surviving on the support, not of society, but their children.

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some of its Citizens. Then, but only then, comes the notion of humanity, which is in fact only an extension of the Duty of solidarity. It is not because people want to assist the elderly and the infirm that they provide a retirement for them, but because they can, because they have a duty to help each other and, unlike animals, they have the means to help them. Without these human capabilities, the elderly would not have more rest than future cripples.

With regard to the problem of pensions, the main question for the City is therefore to know whether, despite the cessation of the participation of a certain number of Citizens, will the active Citizens alone be able to guarantee the Rights of all their fellow Citizens ? In other words : do the actives produce enough to satisfy all the needs of the entire City population ? Since the 20th century, the question has no longer arisen, because the answer is clearly YES, as machines have taken over for people in many sectors and will soon be able to replace them in most or all of them. Paradoxically, the fact that people are gradually relieved of their pain is a calamity under capitalism. Because everyone needs currency to live in a monetary system, the system itself needs, to function, that people have it. However, currency is normally earned by working. Those who are allowed to stop working from a certain age and therefore no longer earn currency by themselves nevertheless need to have it and must receive it from the State or from bodies that take it in one way or another from workers. But as the number of working people declines, due to a lower birth rate or increased longevity, the mass of retirees becomes such that it demands colossal amounts of resources and forces the working people who can only support them to a certain extent to be crushed by taxes, duties and various levies. For capitalism, the question is not therefore whether production is sufficient for the whole population, whatever the size of the working population, but whether the number of working people is sufficient to finance pensions and allow pensioners to access the market. It is clear that Money itself creates the problem, since it would be enough for it to disappear if the Rights of active and retired Citizens were conferred on them, as they should be, by Citizenship (111). This shall be the Principle in force in the City where all Citizens will

(111) We are talking about retirement here, but, in general, in a monetary system, the real, concrete problems are always secondary ; the priority is financial.

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access the market through their civic Cards. The difference between active and retired Citizens (112) will simply be in the way their Card is validated, parallel, deferred or temporary for the former, permanent for the latter.

Once the origin of pensioners' Rights has been settled, the question of when to retire arises.

Retirement will be a Right which, like any Right, will be earned by a Duty. In this case, the Right to be exempted from participating in the life of the City will be earned by the fact of having fulfilled this Duty well. But it should be noted that participating in the life of the City is a fundamental Duty, not a particular Duty. In other words, in the eyes of the City, it will not matter in which field of activity a Citizen has fulfilled his Duty, only the fact that he has fulfilled it will matter. It will, therefore, depend on the time a Citizen has fulfilled his Duty, and not on the type of particular Duty he has fulfilled, that the City will exempt him from it in the future. Equality requires that all Citizens must participate in the life of the City for an equal time before they can claim retirement. This *Mandatory Participation Time* (M. P. T.) will be set by law.

It is no secret that there will be no retirement age. The City will, therefore, guarantee all pensioners the same Rights, but nothing would justify them to have the same Rights without first having fulfilled the same Duties towards the City and their fellow citizens ! What would happen if an individual could patiently wait until retirement age to suddenly demand Rights without ever having served the City ? What would happen if everyone did what he did ? We can see that defending the thesis of a fixed retirement age would not only be contrary to all the Principles, but would also destroy civic spirit, and would deprive the City of one of the most reliable ways to dissuade its Citizens from neglecting their Duties.

Since access to retirement status will be conditioned by the fulfillment, during a given period, of the Duty of participation, the City must take into account all the periods of activity of each Citizen, which will correspond to the validity periods of their civic Cards. The City will also consider that any period of validity of a

(112) It should be noted that, in a monetary system, pensioners receive only part of what their salary was as a pension. Since rights always pass through currency, a retired « citizen » has fewer rights than when he or she was active. They are no longer equal to the « citizen » they were the day before. Let's not even get started on their partners' rights !

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Card will constitute as much *Positive Time* (113). Thus, when the sum of a Citizen's Positive Time reaches the Mandatory Participation Time, his Card will automatically switch to permanent validity mode : he or she will be retired.

Any momentary interruption of Citizenship, voluntary or involuntary, will suspend the course of Positive Time and postpone the time of retirement accordingly (114). Things being clear, it will be up to everyone to take responsibility. But the time of retirement may be postponed for another reason than a temporary interruption of Citizenship.

Citizens will have the Duty to participate in the life of the City according to what it considers to be participation. Even before they complete their Duty, they will know what it is. But the City will only know after a certain time whether they have completed it correctly. It will, therefore, have to validate their Cards before they are filled out and sanction them if it discovers that they have made a joke of it. But how can we punish the prevaricators ? By suspending their Citizenship ? Except in extreme cases, such a sanction would not only be excessive but also of no interest to the City. The penalty shall be related to the fault and shall be aimed at repairing it. What will it be about ? Citizens who have not done as much as they were asked in the time allotted to them. They will thus owe a debt to the City ; they will owe it what they have not done and the time they have lost. For lack of being able to do otherwise, the City will recover this time by postponing the time of their retirement by the same amount, by imposing *Negative Time* on them, which will cancel part of their Positive Time. The sum of *Positive Time* + *Negative Time* will constitute the *Effective Citizenship Time* (E. C. T.), i. e. the actual participation time of a Citizen. The time of retirement will, therefore, come when the

(113) The duration of the national Service will, of course, be taken into account and will generate as much Positive Time. But what is obvious to the City is clearly not obvious to capitalism, which not only does not recognize any particular rights for individuals who have performed national service, but also penalizes them by not considering time spent in the service of the nation as time worked and by not taking into account this sacrificed year in the calculation of their pension benefits. Those who did national service yesterday received no recognition and are losers (financially) across the board.

(114) We are only talking about a momentary interruption because a permanent interruption of Citizenship will necessarily imply the physical or moral death of the Citizen in question.

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Effective Time of Citizenship, expressed in Positive Time, reaches the Mandatory Participation Time.

Some remarks about this new sanction :

1) Negative Time will not have any consequences on the civic Card. It will not lead to a loss of purchasing power, i. e. Rights. This is also the reason why the City will use it since it cannot attack the Rights and will rightly have to extend the time of the Duties.

2) With Negative Time, the slackers who, by nature, are reluctant to do the job, will have to work longer than the others. It may not take them long to realize this and find it worthwhile to do their duty promptly (we will see later, in the chapter on companies, how effective this sanction will be.) In any case, the City will not lose anything.

3) Negative Time will above all be a moral sanction since, at the beginning of a career, a Citizen will conceive its impact without feeling its effects. This sanction will use the ability of humans to project themselves into the future, and their tendency to view it with concern. Negative Time being presented as a terrible sanction, Citizens will seek and find in the fact of correctly fulfilling their Duty the only way to avoid in the present a future inconvenience. This sanction will only impress and motivate those lazy people who are eager to retire, the only way to finally satisfy their laziness.

4) The moral aspect of this sanction will be all the more marked as those who are imposed Negative Time will be regarded as prevaricators by all their fellow Citizens. No doubt they would find a way to gain glory under capitalism, but there will be nothing more infamous in the City. Citizens will, therefore, be careful not to risk such a sanction or risking it twice.

5) Whatever some may say, it will be necessary for the City to have and use sanctions, to prevent the double peril of anarchy and tyranny. It certainly does not take much imagination to guess how quickly the City would fall into a state of decomposition if, without firmness, it granted everything without demanding anything. Little more is needed to understand that such a context would require a strong response and would be favorable to those who support brutal methods. What will a sanction such as



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Negative Time, which is painless, represent given the dangers it will avert ?

Finally, let us add that these concerns demonstrate that Civism, despite the gratuitous and false statements of its detractors, far from starting from the premise that « *people are good* », supposes them if not bad at least vicious. Patricians have faith in Humanity, but they do not blindly trust people, especially since, in the early days of the City, they will have been trained in the school of capitalism, that is, individualism, corruption, and viciousness.

A final word before closing this chapter. Let it be understood that retirees will be exempted from participating in the life of the City, in other words from Labor, but that they will not be prohibited from doing so. It is well known that many retirees suffer from their inactivity, regret the time they worked, and would be happy to feel always useful and to share their experience. Questioning its interests and heart, the City will not require retirees to empty the premises once their Imperative Participation Time has been completed, as capitalism orders them under the pretext of making way for young people and creating employment. They will be able to continue working until their company decides to do without their support or until they want or need to stop. Moreover, it will be in the companies' interest to use them, since their Card is permanently valid, and the City will no longer control their activity and will not take them into account when setting, based on the number of employees, the minimum results that companies must achieve. Those who use them will, therefore, have a real potential greater than their official potential, will be able to achieve their results more easily and will thus be less likely to be sanctioned (115).

However, under the pretext that retirees will not be counted among the employees, we should not turn against the City the purity of its intentions and say that it will not count them for anything. By definition, retirees will no longer be essential to economic activity (No one is essential in the absolute (116). Yet,

(115) This will also apply to disabled people who will have, at their request, a permanently valid Card.

(116) No one is irreplaceable from a social point of view. The disappearance of a Citizen does not destroy the City. Individuals are irreplaceable only from a human

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the City will not consider them as useless. On the contrary, by allowing them to participate in new conditions, it will make it clear to them that they can still make a significant contribution. This will be its way of affirming its belief in their values, inspiring confidence in themselves and exalting in them a sense of their usefulness. Let us bet that many retired Citizens, although they can enjoy all their Rights without doing anything, will not remain languishing in their corner. Finally, the day when, after a life of devotion, they will truly retire, they will take with them the respect of all their fellow Citizens and will feel the comforting feeling of having well deserved their Fatherland.

To sum up :

### RETIREMENT

1. Retirement will consist in being exempted from participating in the life of the City while being able to enjoy its benefits. Retired Citizens will have a permanent civic Card.
2. An able-bodied Citizen will only obtain this exemption after having worked or participated in the life of the City for a period determined by law and equal for all Citizens. This time will be called *Mandatory Participation Time* (MPT).
3. There will be no retirement age.
4. Any period during which a Citizen's Card is valid will correspond to *Positive Time*.
5. The periods during which a Citizen's Card will be valid without participating in the life of the City will generate as much *Negative Time*. Negative Time will also be used as a sanction.
6. Positive Time minus Negative Time will constitute *Effective Citizenship Time* (ECT).
7. A Citizen will be retired when his or her Effective Citizenship Time equals the Required Mandatory Participation Time.

point of view. These points of view should not, therefore, be confused, especially since it is on this confusion that unequal theories are based. This confusion makes it possible to move seamlessly from one plan to another to justify social aberrations for reasons as diverse as they are opposed, and thus to mask the contradictions of the inequalities arguments.

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**8.** Retired Citizens who continue to participate in the life of the City will no longer be required to achieve results and will no longer be counted among the employees of companies.

### 5. Unemployment

Unemployment, in the capitalist sense of the term, will be impossible in the City, for two reasons : first, the City will unfailingly experience full employment ; second, an unemployed person will not be a Citizen.

First of all, we will demonstrate the statement about full employment, although this demonstration will seem unnecessary to many.

The reason why the City will experience full employment, unlike capitalism, which is unable to achieve it, if not rarely or under terrible conditions, necessarily lies in what will essentially distinguish the two systems, namely Equality, in other words, the civic Card. This will provide Citizens with considerable purchasing power, far greater than the City's productive potential. The supply (of products and services), instead of balancing with demand, as in a monetary system (117), will always be lower, even if it

(117) In a monetary system, Supply is the sum of the prices of all products and services placed on the market ; Demand is the sum of the purchasing power of natural and legal persons. If the Supply exceeds the Demand, which is generally low, the excess cannot be sold due to a lack of buyers and the jobs generating this excess no longer have any reason to exist. The actual Supply (production) must then decrease until it equals Demand. The balance is established when a certain level of unemployment is reached. But the Supply can also be artificially reduced, by lowering prices. However, a decrease in prices also means a decrease in wages, and therefore a decrease in demand. This leads to nothing. It can be seen that the Supply/Demand balance depends mainly on the level of employment and does not mean full employment or comfortable wages. Governments that wish to reduce unemployment without creating jobs themselves generally consider boosting demand, i. e. purchasing power (whether through wage increases or tax and other levies cuts). They are therefore considering making Demand greater than Supply, in the hope that the resulting increase in Supply will be synonymous with job creation. But it means forgetting that, in a monetary system, the Supply is less a real data than a financial data, that it can increase by a simple increase in prices, without creating jobs, or even by destroying them (the increase in wages having made national products less competitive). This is the mathematical consequence of a legal and general increase in wages. An increase in purchasing power through a reduction in taxes is a priori a better option, but implies a decrease in social benefits, therefore a decrease in the purchasing power of those who benefit from them, and does not imply that the increase in demand will benefit domestic producers competing with foreign producers at unbeatable prices. Other

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increases, even if all Citizens are working. In other words, there will be more jobs in the City than there will be Citizens to fill them. Citizens will, therefore, have only the difficulty of choosing a job (because it will be up to them to find it ; the City will not « place » them), and able-bodied individuals, no excuse to be idle. Unemployment can only be voluntary under these conditions, so anyone who does not participate in the life of the City in one way or another will be considered as not wanting to be a Citizen and will not be. He will not want to bring anything to the City ; it will owe him nothing.

The fear that current unemployment is an obstacle to moving from capitalism to Civism is therefore groundless. While many activities exclusively related to Momy (tax services, social security, unemployment allowances, banks, insurance, credit institutions, etc.) will disappear (118), Demand will grow so much that employment opportunities will appear in all areas, including so many unknown areas, that old and new unemployed people will easily find their way through the change. Since the unemployed are in a hurry to find a job and can indeed find ten jobs within a day, unemployment will be reduced almost instantly, on paper at least, in reality within a few months.

This perspective is certainly a utopia for capitalists who, to combat unemployment, can only envisage ridiculous and often

Governments are considering creating precarious, unproductive (which does not mean that they are in themselves useless) and poorly paid jobs themselves, financed at the expense of taxpayers. Money is transferred from one to the other, but this does not increase either aggregate Demand or actual Supply. A new balance can certainly be achieved, but it is as unstable as it is unsatisfactory. Governments may finally consider promoting hiring and business creation through tax breaks, subsidies, layoff facilitation, etc., but even if success in employment is achieved, under what conditions ?

(118) These companies, especially banks, insurance companies and credit institutions, whose activity does not benefit anyone in practice but which weigh on everyone, and will weigh more and more, can be eliminated without inconvenience but cannot remain without constituting a major danger to Humanity, and will remain only if Humankind does not have the courage to look Momy in the face. They are Momy's vanguard in the construction of what Jacques Attali calls *Hyperempire*. « *If in half a century or less, insurance companies succeed in controlling the main companies and imposing their standards on States[before dissolving them], if private mercenaries replace the armies, if corporate currencies [in the form of « points »] replace the main currencies, then hyperempire [whose only laws will be those of the market, in other words, Momy.] will have triumphed.* » (Fayard, 2006, p. 279) Nothing else can oppose the advent of hyperempire but that of the City.

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futile increases in purchasing power, by increasing wages or lowering taxes. The City solves it by the same principle : the increase in Demand. But what is the relationship between an imperceptible increase and an otherwise if not infinite increase, at least dazzling ? Moreover, under capitalism, the increase in the purchasing power of some implies the decrease in the purchasing power of others and does not necessarily lead to an increase in consumption (and therefore in the Supply), either that individuals take advantage of it to make savings, or that prices increase, or that consumers fall back on cheaper foreign products. Finally, even if full employment were miraculously but temporarily achieved, Equality remains a fantasy. However, inequality drains many other scourges in its wake than unemployment.

To be quite honest, a drop in real Demand is conceivable and will probably take place in the City, because there will come a time when Citizens will have everything they want. We must also recognize that production does not require proportionate staff since it is largely carried out by machinery. But all this will not compromise full employment, because the City will have the incomparable advantage over capitalism of being subject to its laws and not those of Money.

Assuming that Citizens, fed up with consuming, are satisfied with little, that the real Demand, i. e. the sum of the desires, is lower than the Supply and that the efforts to satisfy it are less than in the past, that companies in general or certain companies in particular therefore have less work, neither employment nor Citizens' Rights will be affected. Because it is to the City that companies will owe their existence, it is it that will set the minimum results that they must achieve under penalty of sanctions. As long as the Demand exceeds the Supply and the companies, despite their best efforts, are unable to meet it, the City will demand the maximum from them. When the Supply exceeds the Demand, it will simply have to demand less from them.

Now, just as it is possible to achieve an overall decline in Demand, so will the reductions in sector-specific Demand (for certain products or services), reflected in a decline in companies' results, be certain. Since the City will have to manage particular problems long before it has a global problem, and since it will, in any case, have the same means at its disposal to solve them, let

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us see what it can do with a company that has not achieved the required results. It will have five options :

1) It will be able to *turn a blind eye*, meaning, recognize that the company is not to blame for its poor results and act as if nothing happened for some time. It will automatically adopt this attitude towards companies that are victims of natural disasters, and after an investigation of companies that are victims of fires or explosions, etc. Thus the City will not add injustice to pain.

2) It may inflict Negative Time on the company. In fact, except in the previous case, all companies that have failed to fulfill their Duty will automatically be sanctioned with Negative Time, even if it means that they then take action with the City to have it canceled or reduced, knowing that unfounded claims will double the sanction. The City will consider that companies have all the means to achieve their results if they put their minds to it, and that they are therefore fully responsible when they do not achieve them. They will thus be forced to get moving, to improve their products and services to attract new customers or not to lose them, to review the internal organization of work to be more efficient, etc. But, to the extent that the minimum results required of them by the City will depend on the number of their employees, they may, if they see that they will be unable to achieve them, decide to reduce their staff to reduce the City's requirements, thus anticipating its reaction.

3) It may impose Negative Time on companies and require them to reduce their staff. This type of decision, added to the traditional sanction, will concern companies that are decidedly inefficient and irresponsible and sectors that have been abused or are even in danger of disappearing. Its purpose will be, on the one hand, to encourage companies either to get out of their lethargy or to take unpleasant but unavoidable decisions themselves before the City forces them to take them and penalizes them for having forced it to intervene, and on the other hand, to cut off dead wood, so to speak.

4) It will be able to liquidate companies outright. The liquidation will not be a decision of the City but will be automatic after negative results for say five consecutive years. However, the City may suspend or accelerate a liquidation. A company will be said to be in liquidation when being part of it no longer confers Citizenship on its employees. Its premises will then return to the public domain and its property will be placed on the market or

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seized by the City. Thus the City will not artificially keep alive fictitious companies or sclerotic companies, unable to adapt to new needs, or declining sectors of activity due to a lack of Demand, especially since it will always need pointlessly monopolized Citizens elsewhere.

5) Finally, as we have announced, it will be able to reduce minimum results (119), without sanctioning companies or requiring them to reduce their staff, or even allowing them to hire. This type of decision will concern either companies whose potential the City acknowledges it has overestimated, or particular companies, victims of an irreversible decline in Demand for its products or services but whose disappearance the City will not want to see, or all companies in the event of a general decline in Demand and it will then be what we call a *societal choice*. In the first case, the staff of the companies concerned (constant or increasing) will make the same (overall) efforts as before to achieve a result within their reach. In the other two cases, since the results to be achieved by the companies are lower, the Supply will decrease, as the level of Demand no longer justifies a higher Supply. So, as companies have less effort to make, the working time (daily, monthly or annual) of their employees will naturally decrease without losing any of their Citizens' Rights. This is the context in which the reduction in working time makes sense !

It should be noted, however, that even if demand falls, it will never be zero, far from it, and will always be divided between goods and services. But machines will soon be able to replace people in almost all areas of production. Most people, to deserve Citizenship, will then have to work in the tertiary (or social) sector in which Demand will always generate an infinite number of jobs. Indeed, is it conceivable that one day, even in a thousand or ten thousand years, people will be able to do without each other, their presence and their services ?

It is, therefore, demonstrated that the City will always experience full employment, not only in the capitalist sense of the term but also full employment in the sense that all Citizens, who

(119) Depending on the company, this decrease may be effective or relative. An effective decrease will consist in requiring less performance from a company for the same number of employees as before. A relative decrease will consist in requiring a company to achieve the same results as before, but for a larger number of employees.



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must participate in the life of the City, will participate in it in one way or another. However, as surprising as it may seem to those who do not see the possibilities of the City, it will allow Citizens, under certain conditions, to be unemployed, giving the term *unemployment* a new meaning.

It may indeed happen that, as a result of dismissal or resignation, Citizens need time to find a job. However, they will not be able to live on their savings, since they will not have any, except at the expense of unemployment benefits that will not exist. To enable them to live and get back on their feet, the City, which, under certain conditions, will consider their situation legitimate, will not question their Citizenship and will ensure their livelihood by validating their civic Card. All Citizens will have as a Right an *Unemployment Time Credit* (UTC), during which their Card will be valid even if they no longer (temporarily) participate in the life of the City.

The UTC as any Right will be equal for all Citizens. Its duration will be determined according to the time that the City will tolerate a Citizen to remain without participating, and the Mandatory Participation Time required for a Citizen to be eligible to retire. Because the UTC used by an unemployed person will generate Negative Time, thus canceling the Positive Time generated by the validity of his Card, so that, logically, a Citizen may be unemployed for a while but not at the same time considered as a participant in the life of the City. Any time off, any UTC used, will, therefore, postpone the time of retirement for him. The reason for such a provision is obvious : to discourage Citizens from being unemployed as much as possible, the interest of the City being that they participate and, as far as possible, that they participate as long as they can. However, if the City were to set a UTC that is too long, it would be likely that inconsistent individuals would exhaust it, even if it means ending their active lives when they're barely still able to walk, if they did not fall before, having taken advantage of it without ever having participated. Moreover, let us not forget that Citizens will also be likely to be sanctioned by Negative Time. Considering therefore that Citizens will have the Right to freely use their UTC and that some will use it in its entirety, the City will determine its duration in such a way that  $MPT + UTC + NT$ , if any, corresponds to a retirement age that is certainly advanced but still reasonable.

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Citizens will be free to use their UTC as and when they wish. That said, since the UTC exempts people from participating in the life of the City, the City cannot grant such a Right until individuals have proven that they are worthy of it. Citizens will therefore only be free to use their UTC after 5 years of effective participation.

The UTC will be a convenience instituted in the first place to allow Citizens to seek new employment under the best conditions. But, knowing that it will always be possible for them to look for a new job before leaving the old one or during their holidays, i. e. without using a UTC, and given the dissuasive consequences of its use, it is clear that the City will see it and hope that Citizens will consider it as a spare wheel to be protected and used only as a last resort. Who knows what life has in store ? A company will not be safe from bankruptcy, nor an employee from being dismissed, nor a Citizen from committing an offense punishable by prison (detention suspending Citizenship), etc. In short, the UTC will in some cases be the only way for able-bodied and healthy individuals to remain or - for ex-prisoners - become Citizens again, the time for them to earn Citizenship again. Let us note, moreover, that this means, which will ensure that individuals enjoy all the dignity of the Citizen, will be infinitely more appreciable than hypothetical allowances, often ridiculous and always insulting, even though they are now conceived as a panacea.

Citizens will therefore be strongly advised to use their UTC in moderation, provided that the City will not grant anyone any additional time credit and that anyone who has stupidly and prematurely exhausted it will have condemned himself to never again be unemployed or to be stripped of his Citizenship in the event of a new period of inactivity. Things being so specified in advance and Citizens being considered as responsible beings, the City will give them the freedom to use their UTC as they see fit and to do, rightly or wrongly, what they see fit. In other words, the City will not care whether Citizens use their UTC to find a job or do anything else, whether they really need it or waste it.

However, there will be a question that only the City can decide : will Citizens have the Right to use their UTC to travel abroad, thus using it for purposes that are contrary to its institution ? The answer should be no, but many considerations argue in favor of a positive answer : individuals will not only be held responsible for the use of their UTC, as we have just said, but they will be full Citizens and, as such, the City cannot refuse

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them a Right that it will recognize for every Citizen. Besides, Travel shapes youth, as the saying goes. It would therefore be a pity to prevent Citizens from using part of their UTC to discover the world and open their minds, although, once again, it will always be possible to travel during their holidays, to Work abroad as a French Citizen (or of France) or, as today, to travel without being a Citizen, i. e. without the help of the City and by their means, living by expedients.

Finally, to be complete, it should be noted, on the one hand, that the UTC may not be used during a period of suspension of Citizenship, which would remove any scope for this type of sanction, and on the other hand, that French Citizens using their UTC, therefore theoretically in job search, may not simultaneously do their national Service or their annual weeks of Service. Those who have already completed their year of service may exercise their political Rights and will be required, like any Citizen, to occupy the positions to which the City will call them. But if unemployment prevents them from completing their weeks of service within the year, they will owe the City two weeks. They will then be able to do four weeks in the same year or postpone their last weeks by one year. The City will nevertheless recognize the possibility for unemployed persons to complete their weeks of service, not on the scheduled date, if it falls during their unemployment, but immediately after the end of their unemployment and before their return to work.

That's all said and done. However, before summarizing, let us point out that, with the UTC, the City will have an additional means, as simple as it is infallible, to stem the effects of a sharp drop in Demand and therefore the risks of involuntary unemployment. Since it will be a question of producing less, since there will be less need for arms or heads, the City will be able to encourage its Citizens to be legally unemployed by reducing or even eliminating the Negative Time associated with the UTC, in other words by counting the time spent unemployed as the participation time. In the same spirit, the City could reduce the MPT (Mandatory Participation Time). But this solution is less recommended than the first because it is better to allow Citizens to be unemployed for a certain time during their working life than to shorten the very duration of their working life and deprive them of this possibility. The effects of this measure would be less

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significant in the short term than the previous one. However, it is not impossible, it is even likely that the two measures will eventually be combined.

To sum up :

### UNEMPLOYMENT

1. Every Citizen shall have, for his entire life, a period determined by law and equal for all during which his or her civic Card shall be valid without his or her need to participate in the life of the City.
2. This time credit will be called *Unemployment Time Credit* (UTC).
3. Citizens will only be able to use their UTC after 5 years of effective Citizenship.
4. It will be up to the Citizens to use all or part of their UTC when they want, to do what they want.
5. The UTC will generate Positive Time, because the Citizen's civic Card will be valid, and as much Negative Time because he/she will not participate in the City's life.
6. The use of all or part of the UTC will delay the retirement date accordingly.
7. The UTC will not be usable during a temporary suspension of Citizenship.
8. Citizens will be responsible for the management of their UTC. If they exhaust it, any new period of inactivity will suspend the validity of their Card, and therefore their Citizenship, as long as they do not participate in the life of the City.
9. Citizens may not perform their national Service or weeks of Service while unemployed.

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### 6. Commissions

The City will be based on the Principle of Equality implemented through civic Cards. We have seen how the Citizens will use these Cards. We must now look at the administrative structures that will be necessary for the functioning of this system, namely the Commissions. There will be four types of Commissions in this area.

Commissions of the first type will not have anything to do with Commissions in the literal sense but will be more like ordinary companies. Therefore, they should only be included among the Commissions in their central role and their direct links with the various Commissions. These Commissions, which we could call *Cards Commissions*, will manage the famous databank, hence their practical and logical name of Banks. This name will be all the more appropriate as their offices will be provided by former capitalist banking institutions, retained and converted for this purpose by the City.

There will be one Bank per district. Each Bank will be assigned a perimeter. The account of any individual and company within a given area will be managed by the corresponding Bank. The number of employees of each Bank will depend on the number of inhabitants within its perimeter, according to a ratio determined by law, this ratio being naturally lower than it would be under capitalism, since the Banks will no longer have to deal with deposits, withdrawals, loans, repayments, overdrafts, investments, etc. That said, it will be up to each Bank to recruit its staff (among French Citizens) and to organize itself to best accomplish its mission, which will consist in providing companies with card readers, maintaining the computer network in its perimeter and safeguarding all useful data, to update all new data that will be sent to it (only the Banks can do so), to be available to inform interested parties of the content of their file, to send them a copy every 6 months (which will be done automatically) and, of course, to provide or renew their Card.

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All companies, administrations, Commissions and of course all Banks will be interconnected via a computer network, so that each of them, thanks to a specific and regularly modified password, will be able to access the information they need. Although every effort will be made to protect this sensitive system, illegal entry or attack will be considered a terrorist act and, as such, punishable by the highest penalty. But it is because the risk of an attack and a more or less long paralysis of the system cannot be ruled out that Citizens will regularly receive an official copy of their file and that procedures will be adopted to deal with such a possibility (120).

Citizens' files will contain, among other things, the following information :

- 1) Date and time of the current day,
- 2) Name and first names of the person involved,
- 3) Last name (s) and First name (s) before change (s),
- 4) Registration number (121),
- 5) Phone number,
- 6) Internet address,
- 7) Birth : Location and Date,
- 8) Identity photo less than 10 years old,
- 9) Fingerprints (122),
- 10) Parents : Names, First Names, Origins or Nationalities, date (s) and location of death,
- 11) Personal situation : married, in a relationship, single,
- 12) Main housing : Address, Type and Size,

(120) It should be noted, however, that such a failure, whatever the cause, would not be catastrophic. At worst, it would be necessary to trust identity documents for some time and sign receipts, then update the accounts of companies and Citizens. Even a few frauds, whose perpetrators would have to atone for, would not bring the City down.

(121) This registration number, given for life from birth, will easily solve the problem of homonyms and will allow all administrations, which will all use it, to identify each individual with certainty, thus limiting errors in the files.

(122) Note that it will be a fingerprint of one finger of each hand (thumb or index finger, as desired). This survey will not be for police purposes. This fingerprint will eventually be used to replace the civic Card PIN code unless this identification system is already in place before the advent of the City, which is most likely.

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- 13) Secondary residences : Address and Type,
- 14) Owned apartments : Number and Size,
- 15) Occupied land area, Date of occupancy and Number of parcels,
- 16) Spouse : Name, Date and Place of birth, Registration number, Origin or Nationality, and Activity,
- 17) Child (ren) : Number, Sex, Age, Birthplace, School level, Date and location of death,
- 18) Studies followed and Institutions frequented,
- 19) Diplomas obtained and dates of completion,
- 20) Date of entry into the City,
- 21) Citizenship (or Validity of the civic Card) : State at the present time (Yes or No),
- 22) Professions exercised, Exercise dates and Companies served,
- 23) Positive Time Periods (dates),
- 24) Cumulative Positive Time,
- 25) Negative Time Periods (dates),
- 26) Cumulative Negative Time,
- 27) Unemployment Time Credit used and Dates of use,
- 28) Effective Citizenship Time,
- 29) Participation time still to be completed,
- 30) Origin or Nationality,
- 31) Date of Naturalization,
- 32) National Service : Type, Location and Date,
- 33) Weeks of Service : Location (s) and Date (s),
- 34) Public offices held and Date of exercise,
- 35) Blood type,
- 36) Medical history,
- 37) Treatment followed,
- 38) Ongoing treatments (123),

(123) Only the medical profession will have access to this information, the usefulness of which seems obvious.

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- 39) Stays abroad as a Citizen (124) : Country (125), Dates and Duration,
- 40) Driver's licence (s) obtained and Date (s) of acquisition,
- 41) Vehicle (s) owned : Date (s) of acquisition, Type (s) and Registration (s),
- 42) New car : Date of last acquisition (126),
- 43) Right to acquire a new car at the present time (Yes or No),
- 44) Card Use : Places, Dates and Hours, Quantity and Type of Goods Acquired, Services Received and Others
- 45) Dates of consultation of this file and Names of the natural or legal persons who have accessed it.

This list may seem long, especially since it is not exhaustive, but it should be noted that it will not cover anything private, at least not anything that the City can or should ignore, and that banks, insurance companies, prefectures, hospitals, Social Security, etc., already have most of this information, although it is scattered. In short, the City will only bring them together in a concern for efficiency, and it is likely that capitalism, to put an end to a multitude of abuses allowed by the welfare state and encouraged by its naivety, will have brought them together even before its advent. As for new information, the City will not list it out of pleasure but out of necessity, and it is in the interest of Citizens to provide it - at least for the few that will not be automatically registered or systematically provided to the Bank by administrations and companies - because they will enable the City to guarantee their Rights.

(124) Let us note the precision « as a Citizen ». Indeed, Citizens as individuals will be able to go where they want at any time and without difficulty - on the condition, however, that the foreign authorities accept their arrival. But then they will not be counted any more than they will be helped by the City.

(125) See the usefulness of this information in International Trade (Part II, Chapter 8).

(126) This information will make it possible to regulate the acquisition of new cars which, like houses (see Part II, Chapter 9), are an extraordinary asset. It is obvious that the City will not allow a Citizen to acquire a new car every day and that it will, therefore, have to establish a minimum delay between two acquisitions, which will be determined according to the City's productive potential and other considerations.



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It should be reiterated, however, that, apart from the interested parties, only the banks (and of course the police and the judiciary) will have access to all this information, with companies, administrations and Commissions having only a need to know some of it. Companies in particular will only need to know from their customers, when validating their purchases via their civic Card, the current status of their Citizenship, i. e. whether or not they are Citizens at the time of their purchases, whether or not their Card is valid, which, in the event of a positive response, will result in the registration of said purchases, and in an inability to register them in the event of a negative response. To ensure that the user of the Card is the Citizen to whom it will be assigned, his photo could appear on a control screen, which would then be the only element of the file seen by the seller. As for the fingerprint, it will replace or could replace the confidential code of the Card, which in itself does not prevent a person from using another person's Card, with or without their consent. But, here again, it is likely that credit cards will be secured in this way before the City takes over the process.

We have said that companies will also have an account. The following information will be included in the file :

- 1) Creation date of the company,
- 2) Company name
- 3) Creator's name,
- 4) Director or President in office,
- 5) Names of former Directors or Presidents,
- 6) Address (es),
- 7) Surface area per site,
- 8) Total surface area occupied,
- 9) Nominative list of staff,
- 10) Date of entry and exit of each employee from the company,
- 11) Average number of employees over a Period P (127),
- 12) Quantity and nature of supplies purchased during P,
- 13) Quantity and Nature of raw materials purchased during P,

(127) Average number of employees over a period P = sum of the number of employees per day in the period/number of days in the period.

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- 14) Quantity and Nature of the machines acquired during P,
- 15) Number and Names of suppliers and service providers solicited,
- 16) Number and Nature of specific properties (assets),
- 17) Number and Nature of specific assets acquired during P,
- 18) Number and Nature of items sold or services provided to date,
- 19) Number and nature of items sold or services provided during P,
- 20) Number and Names of today's customers,
- 21) Number of clients during P,
- 22) Conventional result or Number of clients to be reached over a period P,
- 23) Conventional ratio between the results to be achieved and the number of employees,
- 24) Result for period P (Positive or Negative),
- 25) History of the number of customers over previous periods.

Without getting ahead of ourselves, we must specify here what the City will define as a company, that is to say, who will be part of it in its eyes.

A company works directly for the City ; it markets its products and has a multitude of customers. Thus, all Citizens whose only employer, whether directly or indirectly, is a given company will be considered employees allowing the City to benefit from their efforts through the products and services of this company only. This will put an end to subcontracting companies, which were often originally an internal service of the company that they continue to provide exclusively but from the outside, at least in appearance (128). Apart from financial gains, what is the point of having employees outside the company, Citizens who work only for the company and indirectly for the City ? As the capitalist logic disappears, the artificial fragmentation of companies will also disappear.

(128) It is not uncommon for this type of employee not only to work permanently in the company that claims to subcontract his work (and mistreats his salary) but also for his office or premises to be on-site.

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To come back and finish with the Banks, we said they will look more like companies. However, although they have all the Citizens of a given perimeter as « customers », they will have nothing to sell. They will not compete with each other. Their activity cannot, therefore, be measured and they may a priori be beyond any control. However, control will be necessary, under penalty of letting the vices of bureaucracy develop, insofar as, without control, without pressure of any kind, the Banks, already in charge of their internal management, would also be the only judges of the quality of the services they will provide to the Citizens, and therefore to the City. Also, no company in the City will be public or private, nationalized or privatized. All will be both : privately managed without this management compromising the Rights of the Citizens they will employ, and forced to satisfy the City (the public) without their employees being able to evade this Duty with impunity. For ordinary businesses, sales will allow the City to immediately measure public satisfaction and react or crack down as appropriate. But the efficiency of the Banks and the satisfaction of the Citizens with them will be less easy to observe. If it cannot do otherwise, the City will have to intervene directly.

We have already seen that, in the interests of efficiency, the Banks' staff will be proportional in number to the number of accounts they will have to manage, and that they will manage their internal problems alone, like any other company, so they will be free to take any initiative to improve their performance. As for the quality of the service provided, it will first be subject to the assessment of a *Control* Commission, which we will study later. To form its opinion, this Commission, in addition to inspections, will receive observations and complaints from Citizens. Thus, the Banks will have a public service mission without their employees being above or below their fellow Citizens.

Then there will come the type of Commission whose existence we have often implied, namely the *Convention* Commissions. They are the ones who, on behalf of the City, will define the Companies' Conventions, in particular, the minimum but mandatory results that they must achieve. These results will be expressed in terms of the number of customers and the number of products sold or goods sold or services provided. Below these results, the City will consider that the company has done a poor or insufficient job, which in all cases will result in sanctions.

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The number of customers will be the main parameter to determine the activity of a company. That said, the term «customers» because of its importance deserves some clarification. Any Citizen, child or tourist who uses his card will be considered a customer. The use of the cards will generally be to acquire an item or enjoy a service. But Citizens, to speak about them alone, will sometimes have to use them to simply attest their presence at a demonstration. The City will then have to measure the public interest of the event that attracted them, and therefore recognize the activity of the organizers of the said event.

Let us imagine, for example, the case of a painter. The number of his customers would be derisory and insignificant if he only included the buyers of his paintings. Visitors to his workshop or exhibitions will, therefore, be included. In short, Citizens will sometimes use their Cards to do things that, under capitalism, are free but which, as a result, do not feed their people. It should be stressed, however, that the use of a civic Card will not affect the purchasing power (Rights) of Citizens such as *taking out their wallets* or credit cards, so that they will not have any disadvantage in using it, even on unusual occasions for us, and that the City may require them to use it whenever it is useful (129).

The Convention Commissions will, therefore, have the task of defining, depending on the nature of the companies and the number of their employees, and after consulting their representatives, the type and level of minimum results that they will have to achieve over a given period, and the sanctions they will incur depending on the extent of their failure. It will be a question of artificially but rightly establishing a necessary pressure that Money generates naturally but blindly. Indeed, in a monetary system, a company without a customer is closing down... and there is no reason for such a company to survive in the city. But, unlike capitalism, where Money almost alone governs the destiny of empires, companies cannot be born without the green light of the City and will not face any sanctions other than those it will impose on them. However, in order to decide to intervene, the City will have to receive the signal, so to speak. The conventional results will, therefore, serve as a warning point.

(129) As a result, many activities now relying on voluntary work due to a lack of solvency on the part of the beneficiaries of the services in question can finally be recognized as Labor in the City. It also explains why and how an infinite number of new services, unthinkable today for the same reasons, will emerge.

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A fundamental mistake would be to believe that the conventional results will be a planning of the economy by the City.

First of all, it should be known that, in order not to lose anything of the genius of its Citizens, the City will give each of them three chances, for example, to create a company, i. e. the possibility of failing three times in this adventure without risk of sanction, except in the case of obvious abuse of its kindnesses, and with facilities during one, two or three years, after which their company will be subjected to normal treatment. Moreover, the City will not judge, on any level whatsoever, even moral, the projects of the enterprising Citizens (130). It will simply, via the Commissions, set the entrepreneurs the results to be achieved, being their responsibility to achieve them. It will, therefore, provide the Citizens with the means to achieve their ambitions, hoping that its vigilance and the threat of sanctions will encourage them to mature their project before launching it, and will dissuade phony adventurers, jokers, and slackers. In any case, not only will the City not lose anything from the failures of some, which will draw useful lessons from them, but it will also be enriched by the positive experiences of others. Far from hindering private initiatives and silencing new ideas, they will be the foundation of the City's economic dynamism.

The first function of the Conventions will, therefore, be to guarantee the City the seriousness of the entrepreneurs ; the second, to impose on companies, under penalty of sanctions, an activity that is necessary and sufficient in its eyes ; their third and last function, to enable the City to know whether the companies are fulfilling their Duties. The City will not, however, lead the economy.

First of all, *City* does not mean *State*, and we will better understand why any economic planning will be impossible when we see who will establish the Conventions on behalf of the City. Secondly, the very term « planning » carries with it a condemnation. But, assuming that this is planning, what would happen if the City abandoned it and, although still guaranteeing Equality in Rights between Citizens, did not require a minimum of effort from companies ? Soon, for lack of production, the Citizens would have nothing left to exercise their Rights on ; the City would

(130) Only business projects that are contrary to the laws will be excluded. The others may under no circumstances be rejected by the Commissions.

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collapse, and only God knows how it would rise again ! Indeed, at the end of capitalism, Citizens will not naturally be inclined to fulfill their Duties. Also, as long as it has not been demonstrated that the Conventions are useless, the City will consider them necessary, at the risk of appearing tyrannical to the naive and incurring this accusation from the hypocrites. Finally, while companies will have to achieve their conventional results to avoid systematic sanctions, they will not be able to simply achieve them, they will not be able to suddenly stop responding to Demand on the pretext that they have achieved them. Because companies will be in competition. Such an attitude would result in the loss of former customers, the loss of potential customers would greatly benefit their competitors, would tarnish their image and could compromise their future results. They will, therefore, be forced by necessity to provide the best of themselves, and not just the minimum required by the City. Moreover, they will have a legal obligation to satisfy the Demand as much as they can, and may thus be sued by customers if they refuse to satisfy them without a valid reason. In the end, just as the usefulness of a production or service will be judged by Citizens as consumers, companies will have less to worry about their Conventions than to be attentive to the requirements of their customers. Conventional results will, therefore, have several functions for the City, as we have seen, but will not be a goal in itself for companies. In short, despite appearances, the economy will not be run by the City but stimulated on all sides by the Citizens.

So these are the principles and purpose of the Convention Commissions. An essential question remains to be resolved, that of their composition.

Who will compose these Commissions ? To answer this question, we must start from the goal of this institution : to request results from companies on behalf of the City. The Citizens (French) who will compose them and whom we will call *Commissioners*, to be representative of the City, will hence have to be drawn by lot, following the example of the Censors. Although by the Principles, this method of composition has a certain number of disadvantages. Other modes could be considered, which we will do later, but, considering that this one is the fairest, it is better to try to cancel its minor inconveniences than to resort, for ease of use, to solutions that may not present these inconveniences but will have much more serious ones.

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Before entering into this debate, let us say at the outset that, given the task of these Commissions, there will be many Commissioners and that these Commissions will necessarily have to be divided into several Sections. There will be as many Sections as there are sectors of activity, and the electoral districts (one or more, depending on the size of their population) will form boroughs that will each have all the Commissions. Commissions will therefore not be monstrous national institutions. The Commissioners themselves will be taken on site so that they can be imbued with the local realities they will have to take into account. This « decentralization » of the Commissions will, therefore, make economic planning impossible (especially since the companies' Conventions will depend on their potential), which will not, however, deprive the City of any influence on economic activity.

The major disadvantage of drawing lots for Commissioners from among all local national Citizens and assigning them at random to a Commission will, it seems, often be that they will not know anything about the area in which they will have to make decisions. They will not even have any previous experience since a Citizen can only be a Commissioner once in his or her life. Ways must, therefore, be found to overcome their inexperience.

First of all, Citizens can only be Commissioners after 10 years of Citizenship, i. e. after 10 years of working life. Thereafter, the Commissioners will be notified one year in advance of their future mission (which they may not refuse unless they hold public office or are retired), will sit for one year and a very small part will be replaced monthly. They will, therefore, have time to inform themselves, to be trained and to train the new conscripts in turn. Also, it should be noted that the Commissions will have archives, will have access to the results of existing companies (131), will be able to collect external opinions, etc. Most companies will also correspond to standard schemes established by law. Finally, each Section will be chaired by a person *a priori* competent appointed

(131) The first conventional results, in terms of customers and products sold, will correspond to the good results that companies will have achieved at the end of the capitalist era, results that will seem derisory when Citizens access the market through the civic Card and that their purchasing power will explode.

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for an indefinite period by the Minister of the field in question <sup>(132)</sup>. This President will be both the relay of the Ministry and above all the adviser to the Commissioners, but he will not have the right to vote within the Section, which will take its decisions by an absolute majority. He may also be dismissed from office by a two-thirds majority of the Commissioners of his Section, or even sanctioned by the Commissioners of the various Sections meeting in general assembly. These are provisions that seem to ensure that the Commissions and Commissioners have both the legitimacy and the necessary competence.

That said, we have seen the relative importance of the Conventions. The Commission will therefore not have to determine precisely the optimal capacities of a company but will have to establish from which point onward the activity of a company will be worth considering. However, there will be no need to be a specialist for this. All it takes is a little experience and common sense. Considering the location of the company, the nature of its activity and the expected number of its employees, it will not be more difficult for an average Citizen to imagine the minimum quantity of customers that this company could have over a given period, having worked correctly, than the one that it will be unable to achieve. The Commission, taking into account these two limits, the general interest <sup>(133)</sup>, the wishes of the entrepreneur, and its knowledge in this field, will then have no difficulty in reaching its decision.

Now, although Civism expects Citizens to be virtuous, it fears people's vices just as much. Being in their nature to seek the easiest way at all times and to take the shortest path, it will be necessary, for Citizens to remain constantly on the path of Duty, as departing from it lengthens the road. It will, therefore, be the responsibility of the Commissioners to process, in chronological order, all the files submitted during their session. It is up to them to organize themselves to achieve this or else they will continue to sit until their mission is completed, this extra time generating so much Negative Time for them. Moreover, so that they are not

(132) Appointing these Section presidents for an indefinite period will exempt each new Minister from having to appoint them in turn, although he may do so in whole or in part if he so wishes.

(133) The Commission, depending on the general interest as it perceives it or as the City presents it (through laws), may set high results for companies that will require it to perform well, or conversely, results that are actually or relatively low.



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tempted to rush their work, they will be under the supervision not only of their colleagues who will be in the same boat but especially of the *Control* Commission.

The purpose of these provisions is clear : to prevent the Commissioners from making it easier on themselves and, at the same time, to prevent the files from accumulating, thus undermining the dynamism of the City and the morale of the entrepreneurs.

This seems to be the most consistent way of composing Convention Commissions. But, if this method of composition is rejected, who should be called upon to act as Commissioners, and how ? Let us immediately discard the idea of professional Commissioners, what we would today call civil servants, because, to be even remotely representative of the City, Commissioners will have to be regularly renewed and therefore taken among the Citizens.

The first solution to resolve the question of competences would be to set up Citizens' Commissions working in the field of their Commission's. The City would, therefore, have to classify Citizens according to their profession or possibly according to the nature of their studies, which would indeed be possible. But to which Commission should a Citizen with practical skills in a particular field be assigned, when, on the one hand, companies combine talents to offer a product that often does not correspond to any particular profession, while, on the other hand, the Conventions will not concern the way of producing but the quantities to be sold ? For example, what is the relationship between knowing how to manufacture a part of a car and determining how many cars a car manufacturer must sell to satisfy the interests of the City ? None ! The question still revolves around cars, but on completely different levels. This will be the case in almost all areas. The profession of a Citizen will, therefore, provide little information about the Commission to which he or she should be assigned. In short, composing Citizens' Commissions whose professional skills would not be real assets for their mission would be like composing them with ordinary Citizens, in which case why would the City go to such lengths to do so ? As we have said, the Commissioners will need above all common sense and a little experience that they can only acquire with practice. No particular skills will be required, although all will be welcome.

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Again, this is only the first downside to this solution. Let us now assume that the City succeeds in composing the Citizens' Commissions that are effectively competent because they are truly involved in the activity under their responsibility. It should not be forgotten, however, that these Commissions will have to establish the conventional results of new companies, results on which possible sanctions will depend, and that, in the City, companies will be in competition. Composing professional Commissions would mean putting the fate of entrepreneurs in the hands of their colleagues or even friends, or of their competitors. In addition to the fact that Citizens chosen in a professional class could not claim to represent the City, would not the Commissioners then swing between two vices ? on the one hand, the corporatism that would lead them either to show indulgence towards their future colleagues or not to demand from them as much as neutral Commissioners ; on the other hand, the particular interest that would command them to block or discreetly sabotage their competitors' projects by imposing unbearable Conventions and inaccessible results on them ? In any case, the Commissioners' judgments would be contrary to the interest of the City in whose name they would nonetheless carry out their tasks. The City could not be worse served !

Another major disadvantage is that who could criticize decisions made by professionals who would only be declared competent in this area ? No one, not even the City, at least until it reverses its mistake. However, these supreme judges would still be people subject to temptation ! As they are somehow responsible for enforcing laws in the general interest, there is a great risk that they will turn them to their advantage. Certainly, this profit would be different than under Mony, but *there are no small profits* ! The Commissions would, therefore, be schools of corruption. Moreover, to put forward once the principle that competence places above the City would be a first step towards the alienation by an elite of the sovereignty of the People, and who knows how far this precedent could lead ?

In addition to these general disadvantages, there would be others depending on how the Commissioners are chosen. Should they be elected, appointed or drawn by lot from among the professionals in each branch ?

Elections would pose the same problem as that mentioned for Censors, namely that candidates must be well known and create

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a party. Failing to be famous for their work, candidates would at best make demagogic promises that at worst they would keep once elected. In any case, elected officials would be forced to favor their supporters at the expense of their opponents and the City's interests. The vice of the elections could be limited in appearance by the prohibition of re-elections, which would then lead to the proliferation of unknown candidates and would, therefore, multiply the disastrous maneuvers to the public good. Unless the elective principle has the opposite effect, namely the shortage of candidates and the impossibility of forming elected Commissions. As for extending the duration of mandates to reduce the frequency of elections and the need for candidates, this would be a remedy worse than the disease, because then the Commissioners, well seated in their chairs, would be more prey to corruption than ever before.

But we have not said anything about the voters. Who would be responsible for electing the Commissioners ? The same logic would require the election of professional Commissioners to be done by branch. However, this could only increase the dangers we have just mentioned. So what can we do ? Submit to the general vote of the electorate the Commissioners presented by each branch ? Ridiculous and no less dangerous ! The number of Commissioners to be elected would be so large, the candidates so unknown, and the elections so frequent, that voters would be disgusted and would eventually no longer participate (134). This kind of useless election makes the Citizens blasé of their Rights and, far from establishing Democracy, exhausts and annihilates it. In the best-case scenario, citizens would continue to participate in the elections of their branch, which, by creating a *de facto* partitioning, would make it illusory to subject Commissioners to universal suffrage. Moreover, by seeking to prevent corruption of Commissions, elections by universal suffrage would no longer be a guarantee of the « competence » of Commissioners (135). Because on what criteria would the Commissioners then be elected ? Undoubtedly criteria in which « competence », the

(134) Again, these are only the Convention Commissioners. All the Commissions will be composed in the same way, which, if the election system were adopted, would multiply the number of candidates and the impossibility for voters to find their balance.

(135) The absurdity of the elective system would be aggravated if candidates for a Commission of a branch were not even required to belong to that branch.

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driving force behind all this upheaval, would no longer count for much! Under these conditions, the drawing by lot of Commissioners from among the Citizens of each branch would also be inept but much simpler, while presenting only the general disadvantages of the partitioned system.

There would, therefore, be only one solution : appointment. But then, who would have the right to appoint them ? Two possibilities : either the Minister or the Order of the branch in question. But the number of Sections will be so high that a Minister, in practice, would have to rely on the Orders. However, the members of the Orders are themselves elected representatives who naturally defend the interests of their profession, or even their company, at the expense of the general interest. What kind of Commissioners could they appoint, if not the instruments of their interests ? As for the branches in which there is no Order, the appointment would necessarily be converted into elections. The appointment would, therefore, amount to direct or indirect elections, a system already ruled out.

Finally, supporters of half-measures could see in mixed Commissions, i. e. composed of both randomly drawn Citizens and « professionals », their ideal composition. But why this intermediate solution ? Would it be so that « ordinary » Citizens, by their neutrality and probity, oppose the « professionals » involved and self-serving ? This would recognize both the dangers of « professionalization » and the usefulness of drawing lots. But then, why not eliminate the dangers by composing the Commissions only of Citizens drawn by lot ? Could it be so that the competence of the « professionals » compensates for the ignorance of ordinary Citizens in spite of everything ? In this case, it would first have to be proven that professional skills will be an incomparable advantage for Commissioners and that the relative ignorance of « ordinary » Citizens will be a definite disadvantage. However, we have shown that the establishment of Conventions will not require any particular professional skills. As a result, the idea of a mixed system does not ultimately arise from a concern for competence on the part of the Commissions, since they could be just as competent by being composed exclusively of « ordinary » Citizens, but from a concern for probity on their part, which could not be guaranteed by « professionals » on their own. It would, therefore, be less a question of adding « professionals » to « ordinary » Citizens to increase the competence of the

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Commissions than of adding « ordinary » Citizens to « professionals » to drive away complacency, malice, and corruption from the Commissions. In short, there would only be any good in the mix of « ordinary » Citizens drawn by lot. If this good side could come out at all! But the opinion of « professionals » would prevail, because, far from feeling concerned and acting as a counterweight, « ordinary » Citizens would naturally rely on « professionals » who are supposedly competent and most likely pretentious. This intermediate solution is therefore only a view of the mind. By seeking to destroy an alleged disadvantage (the incompetence of « ordinary » Citizens) by introducing an illusory advantage (the competence of « professionals » in matters of Conventions) and a definite disadvantage (of interested Commissioners), the mixed system would not obtain the advantages of the draw by lot of Commissioners, and would have all the disadvantages of the « professionalization » of the Commissions.

We have elaborated on the composition of the Convention Commissions because, in addition to being an important point, all the Commissions will be composed in the same way. We still have two more to see in this chapter.

The Convention Commissions will be responsible for setting the results of new companies for a period P. But things are moving. There will, therefore, come a time when the initial Conventions will no longer be suitable for companies, either because of their evolution or because of the economic situation (the City's interest may be to encourage them to increase or reduce production). They will then have to be revised, a task that will not be very different from that of the Convention Commissions. But, as the latter are busy, other Commissions will have to take care of them : the *Revision Commissions*.

By the nature of their function, these Commissions will be composed like the Convention Commissions. But, unlike the number of Conventional Commissioners, which will depend on the number of citizens of the borough, each of whom is potentially a business creator, the number of Revision Commissioners will

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depend on the number of established companies. In both cases, their number will be determined by a report set by the CPO (136).

The Commissioners will be subject to the same « performance » obligations as the Conventional ones. However, they will choose their president from among themselves. It will therefore not be imposed on them by the Ministry. Revising the Conventions will be less difficult than establishing them, and will not seek the advice of an « expert », as it will then be possible to rely on real data, as companies are no longer projects but facts. Let us add that the Conventions and Revision Commissions will sit in the same building, as they will have common archives, which will also facilitate the procedures for Citizens and companies.

The job of the Revision Commission will be to amend the Conventions of new companies which, after experience, will prove unrealistic, and those of long-established companies that will find themselves in an unpredictable situation. However, it should be recalled that the Conventions will set a report or consist of a table that will make it possible to know what minimum sales results (in terms of customers and products) a company must achieve according to the number of its employees. The expansion and decline of a company will, therefore, be considered in its Conventions, so that its conventional results will automatically adjust, upwards or downwards, without the need for the Revision Committee to intervene. Such adjustments will be made directly to the database. It should also be recalled that it will be the responsibility of the Card Commissions, i. e. the Banks, and not the Revision Commissions, to pass on to the Conventions the decisions of the City to raise or lower, in an overall or sectoral manner, the conventional results of the companies. Agreements drawn up by the Convention Commissions and amendments made to the Agreements by the Revision Commissions will also be forwarded to the Card Commissions, which will be the only bodies with the power to enter the database to introduce new parameters.

(136) It may happen that Censors (Citizens drawn by lot to compose the Court of Public Opinion) have themselves been Commissioners or have known relatives in this case or have had to deal with the Commissions as entrepreneurs. All Citizens involved in the world of Labor will be confronted with the decisions of the Commissions. The CPO will, therefore, be as sensitive to the difficulties, even vices, of the Commissions as to the expectations of the Citizens.

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The *Control* Commissions will be the cornerstone of this system. They will be composed like the other Commissions, but the number of *Controllers* will be equal to the number of Conventional Commissioners and Revisers combined. They will choose a president from among themselves. The Controllers will be divided into groups of 9.

The main function of the Control Commissions will be to confirm, reduce or cancel the Negative Time automatically imposed on companies that have not achieved their conventional results. However, the Controllers will only intervene on files that have been the subject of complaints from the companies concerned. To do so, the first elements they will have to work out their opinion will, therefore, be the plaintiffs' arguments. But they will often have to investigate the issue further. They will then consult the data concerning the company, and possibly compare them with the results of competing companies or the same sector. The Controllers may also visit the field incognito or unexpectedly. To enter companies, the Controllers must carry an official mission order issued by their group, and may then inspect what they deem appropriate, except for sensitive areas such as research offices, etc. Once the Controllers of a group have formed their opinion, they will make their decision by a two-thirds majority.

But this will only be one aspect of the Control Commissions' work. As the conventional results are only a part of the companies' Conventions, the Commissions will, therefore, check that they comply with them in full. They will also monitor the activity of other Commissions, including Banks. Also, they will or may receive and process themselves or have handled by the rightful authority all complaints, of any nature whatsoever, from anyone relating to Commissions, Commissioners, companies, products, services, customers, consumption, civic Cards, etc., in short, all complaints relating to life and economic actors. However, the law will define the areas in which they may intervene and those in which they must entrust the judiciary with the task of clearing or punishing (137). When it is up to the Commissions to impose severe sanctions, their decision will be

(137) Any Tribunal, in any field whatsoever, including economic, shall be composed of Magistrates who shall investigate and present the case, Juries who shall rule on the facts, and a Judge who shall pronounce the sentence established by law for the facts as recognized by the Jury. In the absence of legislation, it will be up to the Jury to determine the penalty.

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taken as before by a two-thirds majority of the group members, but this time must be ratified by an absolute majority of the Comptrollers' general assembly so that the final decision is that of the Commission as a whole.

Finally, whatever the Commission, its Commissioners will be collectively responsible to the local Control Commission for the decisions taken by their respective Commissions, for the quality of the work done and for the behavior of their colleagues towards the public. It will, therefore, be up to each Commission to police itself, i. e. to impose sanctions on its members, when it deems it appropriate, and these sanctions must be approved by two-thirds of the Commissioners of the Commission in question. A Commission may not, however, be sanctioned by the Control Commission for an individual fault (absenteeism, laxity, abuse of power, etc.) that it has itself punished or a collective fault that it has remedied. On the other hand, when a complaint reaches the Control Commission without the interested Commission having anticipated its intervention, the matter will be within its competence. The Control Commission will then decide alone whether to impose sanctions and what sanctions to impose. As for the Control Commissions, they will themselves be under the supervision of the CPO. It is therefore to this body that complaints against them should be addressed.

To sum up :

### **COMMISSIONS, COMMISSIONERS AND CONVENTIONS**

1. The City's economic activity will be supervised by a set of four Commissions : the Card Commission, the Conventions Commission, the Revision Commission, and the Control Commission.
2. The City's territory will be divided into districts covering one or more electoral divisions. Each district will have its own set of Commissions.
3. Card Commissions, known as *Banks*, will have the status of companies. It will be up to them to recruit their staff from among national Citizens. The number of employees will depend on the number of residents in their district.



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4. The accounts of all Citizens and businesses in a district will be managed by the district Bank.
5. The Banks will take care of everything related to Cards (civic and other), their use and computer data. They will maintain the computer network necessary for the Card use, provide companies with Card readers, issue or renew the Cards of the individuals and companies for which they manage the account and update the various data concerning them. They will be open to the public for any information, communication, and complaints. Every six months, they will provide their affiliates with a printed statement of their account.
6. Each Commission will have access to the data necessary for its mission, data that only the Banks may and must modify on the express order of the Commissions or that of any institution authorized in this regard.
7. The Commissions (except Banks) will be composed of national Citizens drawn by lot from among all those in the district who have at least 10 years of effective Citizenship. Only Citizens already in public office will be excluded from the draw. Only retired Citizens will have the right to refuse to sit.
8. The members of the Commissions will be called *Commissioners*. They will sit for one year and will be renewed by a third every four months.
9. A Citizen may only be Commissioner once in his life.
10. A Citizen who occupies or has occupied the position of Commissioner shall be exempt, if he so wishes, from weeks of Service.
11. The number of Conventional Commissioners will depend on the number of Citizens of the district.
12. The *Convention* Commissions shall be divided into as many subcommittees, called Sections, as there are sectors of activity.
13. Decisions of a Commission or Section (in the case of Convention Commissions) shall be taken by an absolute majority of the Commissioners, except in special cases.
14. The Sections will be chaired for an indefinite period by an adviser appointed by the Minister of the sector in question. Any

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new Minister may, if he so wishes, renew all or part of these advisers.

**15.** The Commissioners of a Section may, by a two-thirds majority, remove their president from his functions. The Commissioners of the different Sections of a Commission, meeting in general assembly, may take against him/her, by an absolute majority, such sanctions as they deem appropriate.

**16.** The task of the Convention Commissions will be to establish, after consultation with the entrepreneurs, the Conventions of future companies, both for their trial period and beyond.

**17.** The Agreements will determine, among other things, the conventional results that companies will have to achieve over a certain period, generally one year, a few months or several years for a company in a trial period. These results, expressed in terms of the number of customers and/or products sold will depend on the number of employees, the nature of the company's activity and its location.

**18.** Companies that do not achieve their conventional results will automatically be sanctioned with Negative Time according to a pre-established scale.

**19.** The number of revising Commissioners will depend on the number of companies located in the district.

**20.** The mission of the *Revision* Commissions will be to increase or decrease the conventional results of new companies whose Conventions have been poorly adjusted and those of old companies facing an unforeseeable situation.

**21.** The number of Control Commissioners will depend on the number of citizens and companies in the district.

**22.** The main task of the *Control* Commissions will be to examine the complaints of companies relating to the Negative Time that has been automatically imposed on them following poor results, and, after investigation, to confirm, reduce or cancel it.

**23.** The Control Commissions will also receive and deal with all complaints relating to economic life and its actors : Banks, Commissions, companies, customers, production, products, Cards, etc.

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**24.** Except in cases determined by law, the Control Commissions will themselves decide on the action to be taken on complaints and any sanctions to be imposed.

**25.** The decisions of the Commissions, whatever they may be, shall be final. If complaints nevertheless reach the CPO, the CPO may ignore, modify, overrule or confirm the decisions of the Commissions. Unsuccessful complainants will be prosecuted. Sanctions that are unduly contested will be doubled, if possible, or increased.

**26.** Banks, Card Commissions, Conventions and Revision Commissions will be under the supervision of the Control Commissions, which in turn will be under the supervision of the Court of Public Opinion.

**27.** Companies with a national dimension or in matters of national interest will depend directly on the CPO, which will set their Conventions and monitor their progress.

### 7. Companies

We have already said many things about companies. It is now a question of bringing them together and going into more detail while remaining in the field of generalities since it is not possible to enter here in all the particular cases.

For starters, what is a company or, rather, what will a company be in the City ?

A company will necessarily be Citizens fulfilling together their Duty to participate in the life of the City, and participating by producing goods or services. It will, therefore, be a subset of Citizens who, in order to earn or retain their Citizenship, and in accordance with what the City will expect from them, will combine their efforts to put the fruits of their work on the market, that is, to make them available indiscriminately to all their fellow Citizens.

To imply that companies will have results to achieve (« following what the City will expect from them ») implies that the City will know who each of them will employ, who will have to contribute to fulfilling this collective duty. But, as we have said, employees will be citizens combining their efforts to produce. They will, therefore, be complementary. However, all Citizens, all companies combined, will somehow be complementary, since the Labor of some will always be based, upstream or downstream, on the Labor or Participation of others (138). The general production of the City or the common product will always be the result of the combination of the Labor of each of them. In a way, the City will itself be a vast enterprise employing every Citizen. It is, therefore, necessary to clearly define all the Citizens who will make up a given company, i. e. to establish a clear demarcation line between the Citizens who will be part of this company and to whom the City will set results to be achieved, the Conventions, and those who

(138) Every company needs equipment, supplies, raw materials, etc., all of which it does not produce itself and which it must, therefore, obtain from its peers. Also, most of them offer goods or services that often have no purpose or utility in themselves and therefore require to be combined with the product of other companies. A car needs roads, electrical equipment, power, travel, means of transport, etc. Moreover, companies all need employees who have had to be educated, trained, who must feed themselves, dress, have their children looked after, go to work, etc.

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will be considered as part of another and will therefore have their own Conventions.

This distinction is implicitly contained in the idea that a company should make its products available on the market to all Citizens. In other words, a company will need to have a multitude of potential customers, whether individuals or companies. This will imply that the company puts its products *directly* on the market, and will exclude that its production is entirely monopolized by a single individual or, more realistically, by a single company. There are certainly products which, by their nature, will not be intended for individuals or which, even without undergoing any processing, will only be made available to consumers through intermediaries. The producing company will then have no direct contact with the Citizens as individuals. But its products will still be on the market, as they will be available to all companies that want them, without being reserved for any particular company.

It follows that Citizens whose entire production will be destined for a single company, of which they will be part of, will not be entirely considered as a company. A company will, therefore, include all Citizens who, as an entity, will have on the one hand a multitude of customers and will serve the City by supplying its market, and who, on the other hand, will itself be a customer of a multitude of companies or suppliers. In other words, all Citizens whose efforts will only be placed on the market (or a market) through the products or services of a given company will be employees of that company (139).

This definition, which is logical in itself, will put an end to divisions and illusory mergers and will lead to the recognition of employees who were previously despised under the names of « subcontractors » or « service providers ». It should be noted,

(139) Common sense has dictated this definition, but this definition must not, in turn, stifle common sense. There are, for example, companies that will or may be exclusively linked to another company and that it would be absurd to confuse with it. Their Conventions will then focus on a level of sales and not on the number of customers. Distribution companies and some intermediaries will often be a necessary part of many companies' products. The definition we have put forward would, therefore, make all producers linked to an intermediary the same company, which would make no sense. Similarly, some companies, by the nature of their products and the small quantities produced, will not be able to have more than one customer at the same time. Here again, it is obvious that, from a legal point of view, the distinction or merger of two companies will depend on the precise nature of their relationship : occasional or exclusive.

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however, that this definition will not reduce companies to their simplest expression, i. e. individual companies, on the contrary, since, in its view, employees and companies that are now complementary and in exclusive partnership will no longer be considered as separate. The end of the fictitious fragmentation of companies will reduce the artificial number of companies and facilitate their control by the City. As a result, some of them will likely split or cease to develop to maintain or return to human dimensions, have better management and assume no other responsibilities than their own. But such a phenomenon will not work against the City, whose interest will always be that Citizens fulfill their Duties, even in smaller but healthier companies.

That said, there are goods that only companies of a certain size will be able to acquire, *business support goods* (BSG), i. e. goods that, on their own, constitute the working tool of certain companies: trucks, buses, boats, planes, etc. These assets require navigational or maintenance personnel, who will be included in the personnel of the companies that will acquire them. However, a company's agreements will be largely based on the number of its employees. A company will need to be strong to allow itself to integrate personnel who will not contribute in any way to its official activity and results; this personnel will have to be based, so to speak, on the mass (140); the personnel of these companies will, therefore, have to be not only numerous but also ready to intensify efforts to enjoy these assets which, once acquired by their company, will be at everyone's disposal. Citizens will undoubtedly have direct access to the services that these goods offer on the market, but having them at their disposal will be an appreciable comfort for employees and a sign of prestige for companies. It is therefore reasonable to believe that acquiring these superfluous assets *a priori* will be one of the motives for some companies to expand.

The definition of a company has led us to talk about constituted companies before addressing the question of their creation, which we can no longer postpone. Who will create the companies? Freedom requires it: Citizens. Indeed, how could Citizens be free without the freedom to engage in

(140) Integrating staff, fictitious for the company, but taken into account by the City, could also be a way of doing sponsorship, the task of *sponsored* persons being to advertise the company, to contribute, not to produce, but to sell.

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entrepreneurship ? And how could the City benefit from the genius of its Citizens if it took that freedom away from them ?

Rather than outlawing private initiatives, the City should encourage them. It is certainly not for everyone to be an entrepreneur, but all Citizens will be entitled to three unsuccessful attempts to create a business, in any field whatsoever, even school or education. (141). It will be enough for enterprising Citizens to present their project to the Convention Committee, which, by way of a green light, will set the results to be achieved or, at least, Conventions to be respected. This Commission will not judge the projects of the Citizens ; the City alone - i. e. all Citizens as consumers - will decide, after some time of experience, if a company is of any use, if it satisfies a Request. This decision will still be tacit, since the Citizens will take it without even realizing it, by having been customers of this company or not.

A newly created company will, after a certain time, find itself in one of the following three situations :

1) Even before the expiry of the first deadline set by the Convention Committee, the Control Committee may put an end to the adventure if it realizes that the so-called entrepreneur has done nothing to set up his company, if it realizes that it is a *sham* or will be a fiasco. The Control Commission will take sanctions against dishonest entrepreneurs.

2) At the end of the first deadline set by the Convention Committee, the company had not achieved the expected results. Instead of being automatically sanctioned by Negative Time, as any long-established company will be, the Revision and Control Commissions will intervene, the first, to modify if necessary its Conventions or confirm them for the following year, the second, to verify that this company is not in the previous case.

3) At the end of its trial period, the company complied with its Conventions. Its creation was a success. It will, therefore, be subject to the normal regime.

(141) Schools will be companies, whether created on a public or private initiative. Citizens will have the right to create them. Teachers, once they have graduated, will have to find the school where they will teach their subjects themselves. All school staff will be accountable to the City for the performance of their students on the national examination, supervised by the Ministry of Education, which will be held at the end of each school cycle.

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A Citizen will be considered as a creator and head of a company once the Convention Committee has fixed for an initial period the Conventions of his company and has given him a professional card. (This trial period will vary depending on the nature of the companies, but beyond that, the interval between two checks will be one year for all companies.) It will then be up to him to find the right location for his business - unless the City offers or imposes one -, to gather the appropriate equipment and to recruit staff. The course will be set. The City will no longer take care of the company except to ensure that it meets its commitments to it.

It will happen, in some cases, that the City will not have time to wait for individuals to decide to create certain businesses or that they do not have the authority to do so on their initiative, in which case it (Government, CPO, municipality, etc.) will decide for itself to create them. But that will be the end of his role. Indeed, for reasons of efficiency, and so that all Citizens are required to properly fulfill their Duties, there will be no public or nationalized companies (nor private companies, since all will be composed of Citizens and will have as their primary mission to serve the interests of the City). The City will, therefore, entrust its project to an individual who, as Director, will have to carry it out as if it were his own, the City clearing the obstacles in front of him. But the company once created will have its Conventions and will not differ in any way from a company created according to the normal procedure.

Nevertheless, there will be a significant difference between a true entrepreneur, regardless of the size of the business, and a Citizen appointed by the City responsible for a project, regardless of its size. The City may not deny that the founder of a company has been the initiator and may not then deny him the right to be the Director, either when he is the only employee or when his company brings together thousands of them. To adopt a different attitude towards entrepreneurs would be a fatal blow to the motivations of entrepreneurial Citizens. Because, no matter what is said, the creator of a company will always feel like a father, will always feel that company as a part of himself, and will always be the most committed of all employees to his prosperity. The City will, therefore, recognize the creator of a company as its irremovable Director, at least until the day when he renounces this title. On the other hand, a Director appointed by the City to lead a



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project initiated by it will not be irremovable, although his dismissal cannot be caused by the City, which will not interfere in the management of companies.

Once created, a company will exist until it merges with another, is split into several parts or is liquidated by the City or, more rarely, by its employees. The change of Director or the disappearance of its creator will in no way compromise its existence. (It will also be impossible to *relocate* it (142). Because, in the City, a company will not be an object that makes people the extension of machines, it will not be the toy and the property of its creator or its Director. A company will be all the Citizens who will compose it. It will exist to serve the City and its existence will depend on it. The City will not require results from individual employees but the company. It will not validate the employee Card individually, but globally. In the event of negative results, it will not seek out anyone responsible but will take action against the company itself, and therefore against all its employees at the same time and to the same extent. In short, the City will not distinguish between employees ; it will only know the company, i. e. the Citizens constituting an entity or if we prefer, a legal person.

There are three reasons for this new approach to the company. First, only companies will have Conventions. It is thus in body that the employees of a company will be responsible to the City, and not as individuals who will only be accountable to their company. Secondly, the City will give companies the freedom to manage their business and internal affairs. Ignoring anything about the distribution of tasks among employees, it will not know to whom to attribute a company's poor results and will therefore not be able to sanction its employees in detail. It will

(142) The relocation of companies will be both senseless and impossible in the City. Under capitalism, companies are relocated for one reason only : to produce cheaper elsewhere to remain competitive and generate more profit for the boss and shareholders. However, wages can never be as low as in the City where Workers will not be paid in cash. Moreover, relocations are currently decided by the owners of companies, bosses, and shareholders, and consist in closing a company here to recreate the same one abroad. But, in the City, a company will exist by the grace of the City in the eyes of which a company will be all its employees. A Director (there will be no shareholders) will not be able to liquidate a viable company on his own, he will not have the necessary resources to start a company abroad and his departure would be considered as the resignation of any employee.

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sanction the company in general. Companies will hence be both free and responsible for their management (143).

And third, rejecting this system of collective sanctions would be tantamount to forcing the City to systematically seek out individuals responsible for a company's poor performance. It would thus have to keep each individual under close and unbearable surveillance in order to be ultimately unjust and powerless ; unjust, because it is not possible to hold an individual responsible for the result of a collective work without committing an injustice ; powerless, because, having rejected the principle of collective sanctions without being able to punish individuals in isolation, it would no longer have any means of keeping companies and employees in the Duty. It would, therefore, require colossal and ridiculous efforts for results that are as null as they are harmful.

The City will not be based on the individualistic Principle of Equity but the social Principle of Equality. Equity is the fundamental principle of capitalism and the monetary system that inherited it from the barter system under which the value of things results from a supposedly fair exchange between individuals. The capitalists, therefore, consider Equity as the ultimate Justice, whereas, based on arbitrariness, it is the source and pretext for all injustices (144). As a result, they believe that Justice is to punish

(143) As for the objection which would consist in presenting as interference on the part of the City the fact that it will guarantee the Rights of employees beyond their company (unlike the monetary system in which companies themselves set the wages of their employees), the answer is that managing is not, on the part of companies, to destroy the Social Contract and frustrate the Citizens with their Rights, but only to combine as they see fit their strengths to achieve their objectives. Why should the City, by simply endorsing an egalitarian means of exchange, be considered more intrusive than the capitalist states that support currency, i. e. the means for companies to exploit workers ?

(144) In this respect, it is significant that the latest experiment in progress, which is intended to be the fairest possible, is known as *fair trade*. Already, such a denomination reveals that this concept comes from capitalists (individuals who are full of monetary misconceptions), even if for once they are motivated by good intentions. On the one hand, it is a question of pitying the consumer for the fate of producers and thus encouraging him to pay more than usual for exotic products, and on the other hand, it is a question of guaranteeing producers in poor countries better working conditions and better incomes, and therefore better living conditions. But how long do people think they can turn capitalist logic in this way ? And how do these improvements, which above all clear the conscience of Westerners, although they benefit the people involved, bring about Justice ? Above all, isn't it an excellent way to perpetuate monetary biases and thus

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proportionately to the faults, whereas faults and punishments are often different and the proportion between them is impossible to establish. The City is not God. It cannot measure the exact weight of the faults, i. e. the exact degree of guilt of the offender and the exact amount of harm and punishment he caused. It cannot, therefore, punish proportionately. Its role is less to punish the guilty than to protect its Citizens. Justice, from a social point of view, therefore, consists in imposing on the guilty parties to make reparation for their faults, as far as possible, and to dissuade them or prevent them from recidivism forever. At least that is the repressive aspect of Justice. But the City, in the name of Justice, must above all prevent, that is to say, divert Citizens from the temptation to violate their Duties and to violate the Rights of their fellow Citizens. Justice is, therefore, everything that promotes the respect of the Social Contract.

Do Citizens have the Right to Neglect their Duties ? No. They can, however, and it is precisely when they neglect them that they give the City the Right to punish them. But the interest of the City is less to punish, and therefore to let them neglect their Duties than to prevent their negligence, and therefore to ensure that they fulfill them. Yet the Citizens will have the Duty to participate in the life of the City. It will, therefore, be up to the City not only to define what participation will be but also to verify that they participate effectively and following its expectations (145). Regarding the Workers, i. e. individuals who will access or retain Citizenship by participating in the economic life of the City, it should be noted that they will always fulfill this Duty within the framework of companies which alone, regardless of the number of their employees, will have Conventions. It is therefore on the results of legal entities called companies that the control of the City will always focus on, not on the Labor of employees. Will the City fail in its Duty by not controlling the personal Labor of employees ? Will employees fail in their Duty to it if they are not constantly under its scrutiny ? Not at all, because by raising the risk of

maintain the vicious circle of injustice ? Without a doubt, for want of anything better, *fair trade* should not be denigrated or abandoned, but its traps should also be identified and not seen as a panacea.

(145) The City that guarantees the Rights of the Citizen to employees does not have to allow them the freedom to evade the Duties to which they have agreed. Individuals may refuse to be Citizens, but Citizens may not refuse to assume their choice even though they enjoy the benefits that flow from it.

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sanctions above companies, the City will pass on the torch to them, so to speak. It is they who, to be able to meet their commitments, will have to ensure that their employees do the job for which they are employing them.

As mentioned above, a just punishment is, as far as possible, for the offender to right his wrongs. For a company that has not achieved, within the time limit, the (sales) results required of it, that is, for a company that has not worked as much as the City has requested, the repair will consist of additional Labor. But a company is not an abstraction. All its employees embody it. Everything a company does or must do is done or must be done by its employees, let us even say by all its employees since they are complementary. This restorative sanction will, therefore, have to be borne by all employees and will amount to extending their working time or, better said, the length of their working life ; in other words, Negative Time.

Employees will not be able to embody the company in the eyes of the City, thus enjoying the Rights of the Citizen, and be spared when the City sanctions its breaches. Interdependent employees on bright days will not be strangers to each other in the dark hours. By associating with other Citizens to fulfill their Duty, employees will link their fate to that of a company - as they have linked it, at a higher level, to that of the City as Citizens - and will in fact make it impossible for the City to disentangle the responsibility of each other at the level of their collective work. The City will therefore not distinguish employees of a company any more when it comes to validating their civic Card than when it comes to assuming the poor results of their company.

It is by necessity and according to the Principles that the City will resort, concerning companies, to collective sanctions. It will not have a choice. Even if it did, it would still be in its interest to use it. Because we have approached the issue of collective sanctions from a « repressive » point of view, but we have not yet said anything about their preventive effect.

Let us note, to begin with, the fairness of collective sanctions, although the fierce individualists and inveterate critics of Civism, hiding the new conditions of the Citizen in the City, will persist in seeing them as injustices. They would certainly be unfair if all employees were not treated in the same way and did not also benefit from their affiliation with the company, and if the City sanctioned them collectively without having informed them of the

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collective nature of the sanctions. But employees will as Citizens enjoy the same Rights. There will, therefore, be no inequality of treatment between them within the company, inequalities that are currently reflected in inequalities in salaries and responsibilities. It will be clear to all that their Rights will be less linked to their merits (which will nevertheless have allowed them to be hired and to occupy a position) than to the general merit of the company in which they will fulfill their Duty to the City, and they will, therefore, find it normal that the latter, faced with a failure of the company, does not seek responsibility at the individual level, but sanctions the company in general and all employees to the same extent. They will be responsible, towards their company, for what they will do and, towards the City, for what they will have allowed to be done. Here again, will it be unfair to punish employees who have witnessed their colleagues' prevarication in an unconcerned manner and have thus become their accomplices ? No ! Because the City being the whole of the Citizens and acting only through them, the Duties of the City are also those of each Citizen. All Citizens have, like the City they compose and embody, the Duty to ensure that their fellow Citizens fulfill their obligations. Citizens who, as employees, may not be directly responsible for the poor results of their company, will therefore not be any less guilty, in the eyes of the City, of having allowed their company to drift to the point where its intervention has become necessary. A collective sanction will then be fair in the sense that it will punish the company and all its employees for prevarication, some for active prevarication, others for passive prevarication.

But, it may be argued, so that there is no real injustice in punishing some for mistakes committed by others, it will still be necessary for everyone to have the power to prevent the mistakes of others. Indeed it is ! Such power is the corollary of solidarity and collective responsibility. It is precisely the denial of this power to employees that today justifies - without legitimizing them - the individualistic notion of sanctions (146) and inequality in rights. Conversely, it is the inevitable use of collective sanctions that will require the City to recognize such power and for employees to claim and exercise it.

Thus, holding all employees responsible for the running of their company and translating this into possible collective sanctions will

(146) Isn't a salary, in economic terms, the "reward " for so-called personal merit ?

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lead them to invest themselves as never before in their company, to feel concerned by everything that affects it, in short, to establish a form of self-management.

People accept to take risks personally but refuse to risk because of others' fault and do not like others to pay in their place or because of them. As a result, no employee will tolerate the danger of his Neighbors laxity and everyone will join forces to divert him from a guilty and scandalous attitude. Conversely, everyone will fear the wrath of their colleagues. No one will ever again consider without concern putting themselves at fault and compromising their colleagues. Employees will, therefore, force each other to fulfill their Duties, and will end up fulfilling them without even feeling this constraint since each will fill them with his actions to protect himself from a reaction that will then not occur. In this way, Civism will foster or develop among employees the respect for others, the feeling of their interdependence towards their colleagues, the sense of responsibility and Duty towards the group to which they will belong, in a word the *esprit de corps* that capitalism tries in vain to instill. Let us note that, for Civism, Citizens will not rise morally out of kindness of soul, but to satisfy their particular interests according to new social rules. This is not a naive hope but a logical consequence.

The preventive effect of collective sanctions will be to get employees to fulfill their Duty to Participate without the City having to monitor them because the pressure will then be put on the prevaricators by the company and the employees themselves. Few companies will not achieve their results due to a lack of work, and the City, for its part, will have even less to crack down on. Collective sanctions, by generating vigilance and self-discipline on the part of employees, will effortlessly protect the City from anarchy, and companies from sanctions. In other words, those who consider the system of collective sanctions to be monstrous are unaware that the City can never be less burdensome and individuals less sanctioned than in such a system.

We have seen that the company will have as its Director its creator. However, a Director is by nature the top of a hierarchical pyramid. Companies will be hierarchical, in the sense that decisions will usually be made by employees in the context of their function. It is a strange idea to believe that Equality prohibits any form of hierarchy. For Equality (in Rights) implies that Citizens

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are equal in fundamental and complementary in indirect and special Duties. They cannot, therefore, be complementary in terms of indirect and special Duties, i. e. occupy different functions, without each having the special Rights necessary to fulfill them. The same applies to companies regarding employees who, because of their specialization, only deal with their area of expertise and leave all other tasks to others. The specialization of employees and the search for efficiency within the company inevitably give birth to a pyramidal organization. Now, whatever its internal organization, a company is only composed of Citizens who, as such, will be equal in Rights in the City. The hierarchy in the company will therefore not compromise Equality.

Unless lacking common sense, it is obvious that all the decisions a company makes at any given time cannot and will not be the subject of internal debates and referendums. In other words, it is impossible for every decision to be taken collectively, and it would be absurd to consider it. Daily decisions of all kinds will, therefore, be taken by employees (or departments) in the course of their duties. Employees, aware of the results that their company will have to achieve and the sanctions they will incur in the event of failure, will be the first to recognize the need to Work instead of wasting their time discussing. Nevertheless, all employees, being in solidarity with the poor results of their company, will theoretically be concerned by all the decisions taken and will naturally have the right to intervene in everything when they deem it necessary. But, in addition to not abusing this right, for the reason set out before - unless they suffer the consequences - employees will only be able to make a decision outside the limits of their function collectively.

Collective decisions can be taken by the company in general as well as at the level of each subgroup (service, department, etc.). All employees will be able to participate in internal debates, but only employees with at least one year's seniority will have the right to vote - so that short-stay employees have no influence on the company in the long term, and so that employees who are more committed to the company have time to get to know it before influencing its fate. Collective decisions, in any field whatsoever, even if they contradict the positions of the hierarchy, will have the force of law in the company. However, everyone will have to be able to speak and make themselves heard. The law will, therefore, recognize the right of employees to communicate their ideas by

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any means and to gather where and when they wish. Anyone who attempts to obstruct the exercise of this right will commit an offense punishable by one year's detention.

Let us always keep in mind that employees will be the first victims of their abuses and bad decisions... and they will be well aware of this. Also do not believe that, because they will have the right to stop working at any time to discuss their interests, they will not work. Nor should we believe that collective decisions will paralyze the hierarchy. Senior and junior employees will have the same interest: the smooth running of their business. Subordinates will only oppose decisions of their superiors when they consider them manifestly wrong and will only take the initiative to decide on an issue when they judge there is a lack of reflection or decision on their part. But more often than not, the opinion of all employees will tend in the same direction, so that the agreement between them will generally be tacit and mobilization rare. Let's not believe either that, because they will be able, by collective decision, to dismiss whomever they wish, except the Director, they will dismiss stupidly. Their interest will be to Work as well as possible to keep away from them the risks of sanctions, therefore to surround themselves with Workers who will not prevent others from Working or, better still, will train them. No other considerations will influence their opinion on dismissal. Humans are undoubtedly subject to weaknesses. But if particular relationships favorably alter an employee's judgment of another, his or her opinion will be isolated and will not save the employee from eviction. On the other hand, an employee who does not particularly sympathize but does his Work properly will be protected from wrath, resentment, and slander. Since they have to rely on each other, only the employee who will not offer any consistency will have to worry. For this reason, do not believe that superiors, wishing to attract sympathy, will hesitate to exercise their prerogatives. Under pressure, a firm and competent leader commands more respect from his men than an undecided and affable leader. Whoever ignores it will soon learn it the hard way.

We have said that employees will be able to dismiss each other through collective decision. They may indeed take the initiative to dismiss at any time anyone deemed incompetent, lazy or simply annoying. Employees may similarly object to the decisions of the Director or department heads to dismiss one of them. These decisions, taken at the end of a debate during which



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all points of view have been expressed, will have the force of law and will, therefore, be final. While there will be Labor legislation, the laws will not intervene in this specific area, since collective sanctions will combine private interests with the public interest and will give employees the absolute right to police themselves.

On the other hand, only the Management will have the right to hire staff. Any hiring will be immediately reported by the company's personnel department to the Card Commission so that the new employee's civic Card can be validated or its validation can be put on the company's account instead of on another company's or its Unemployment Time Credit's one. The same will, of course, apply in the event of dismissal or resignation, but this time so that the validation of the Card of the employee in question is placed, at the end of his leave, on the account of his Unemployment Time Credit if he still has some left and if he has not been hired in the meantime by another company.

All the employees of a company will be bound to it and therefore to each other by the same two-part Labor Contract, recalling first of all the Duties and Rights of the Worker established by the City and then defining the general Duties and Rights common to all the employees of that company. These general duties and rights specific to the company may be modified over time by employees. If necessary, the Employment Contracts will include a third part specifying the special duties and rights of employees according to their function in the company. All types of Labor Contracts, all variants of the third part, will be posted in the company so that the attributions of each party are known to all and that abuses, if any, in the text or practice, can be noted and corrected.

In general, an employee will be hired to help ensure that his or her company meets the City's expectations, which will be represented by both Commissions and consumers. Companies will satisfy the former by respecting their Conventions, and the latter by responding to the Demand as much as possible. However, the City, which will give them complete freedom to manage their activity, will not care about how long it will take them to meet its expectations. In other words, there will be no legal daily, weekly, monthly or annual working time. Companies and their employees will have duties towards the City and it will be up to them to organize and innovate to Work quickly and efficiently.

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That said, the conventional results of companies will be determined according to the number of their employees, considering that an employee works 8 hours a day, 5 days a week and a certain number of days a year (by counting the number of weeks of leave granted to Workers by law and public holidays). There will, therefore, be a standard that companies and their employees will try to follow but that will not be binding. Employees will be able to work less, if possible, or more, if necessary. It should not be forgotten that the City will have full employment and that Citizens will have less difficulty finding a job than companies new employees. Companies will then have to retain their employees or attract new ones by adopting an interesting policy on working time, working conditions, leave, promotion, etc. In short, the absence of legislation in all these areas will still lead to harmonization.

Finally, we must address two points that are a priori secondary but of great importance.

Like most people, entrepreneurs feel the need for recognition and seek immortality. In general, the City will leave it to the Citizens to solve these problems. But, in the case of the creators of businesses that it will particularly need to ensure its economic dynamism, it will intervene in their favor, because it is precisely by creating businesses that they hope to be recognized and to make themselves immortal. It must, therefore, distinguish them in one way or another from their fellow Citizens, otherwise, they would lose a large part of their motivation.

All creators, in any field whatsoever, consciously or unconsciously seek, through their creation, to perpetuate themselves and exorcise death. Parents think they can survive through their children, artists through their works, entrepreneurs through their companies. A business creator who gives his name to his company or even to his products is certainly part of this approach. But one desire is even more significant, because it is universally shared, and that is to want to transmit the fruit of one's labor to one's heirs or to whom one pleases.

We know that, in the City, a company will not be the property of its Director. But the City cannot deny the special emotional bond that will exist between them. The creator of a company will not have all the Rights, but he must have certain prerogatives. Similarly, the City cannot ignore his legitimate desire to entrust it,

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during his lifetime or after his death, to a trusted person, relative or friend. It must, therefore, allow entrepreneurs to pass on or bequeath, not the company itself, but its management, to whomever they wish. Logically, their choice should be guided by the company's interest and therefore be focused on competent people. However, the Directors who inherited their position will not be protected like those who founded the company. They may be dismissed by employees if their management proves to be disastrous. So this provision does not go against the interests of the company any more than those of the City, on the contrary, and does not offend the Principles in any way because Company Directors will not have more Rights as Citizens and companies must have one, regardless of their appointment method.

This brings us to the second provision, which is intended to satisfy the need for recognition of entrepreneurs, or even their pride, a provision that could give rise to some controversy. The City will grant entrepreneurs in companies with 100 employees at least one Gold Card which, by its very nature, will testify to their success. This Card will also confer on them when they exercise it, a priority Right of access which will allow the City and the merchants to decide in their favor against Citizens who wish to exercise their Right on the same object at the same time. This priority will be an advantage and not an exclusive privilege or right that the City will recognize to Citizens who have done more than their Duty toward the City or at least who, through their sustained efforts, have well earned a surplus of social recognition. The creators of successful businesses will not be the only ones to be thanked and distinguished by the City. The Gold Card will be reserved for them, but all Citizens judged by the CPO to be particularly worthy of public recognition for various reasons will receive a special Card with the same properties (147).

(147) The City will inevitably have to adopt a new system of recognition and reward of merit. One could imagine the following system, from most to least prestigious :

1. The « Pantheonization », reserved for people who have been dead for at least ten years and who are deemed worthy, because of an exemplary career, to enter the Pantheon of the Republic. Two stelae could also be erected inside the Pantheon on which would be engraved (always at least ten years after their death) the names and other details concerning persons in the following two categories.
2. The medal of the defenders or benefactors of the Fatherland. The title again indicates what kind of exceptional acts this medal would reward. The award

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It must be understood that, in Equality, public recognition will be the only reward possible and the highest one at the same time. Certainly, the true reward of the virtuous person is in the satisfaction he feels in the depths of his heart and, eventually, in

of this medal would also grant the French Nationality and the Rights of the French Citizen, a blue France (civic) Card allowing access to the City's market, with priority on all other Cards (except the white one), and a lifetime exemption from Labor.

3. The medal of the defenders or benefactors of the Fatherland. The title again indicates what kind of exceptional acts this medal would reward. The award of this medal would also grant the French Nationality and the Rights of the French Citizen, a blue France (civic) Card allowing access to the City's market, with priority on all other Cards (except the white one), and a lifetime exemption from Labor.
4. The Legion of Honor medal. This medal, supplemented by a bright red (civic) Card (giving a Right of access to the priority market on all other Cards, except white and blue ones), would reward sacrifices and acts of exceptional courage. One medal would confer the rank of knight, two, officer, three and more, commander.
5. The national recognition medal. This medal, completed by a Gold Card striped with a tricolor ribbon (giving a Right of Access to the priority market on all other Cards, except white, blue and red ones), would reward outstanding services rendered to the Nation, careers, devotion, exemplary works, etc. Three medals would confer the Legion of Honor.
6. The Gold or tricolor Card. These Cards, unlike medals, would be acquired automatically based on professional results and delivered by the Card Commission, with the agreement of the Control Commission. Simple Gold Cards would be reserved for entrepreneurs with at least 100 employees.

No function, however high, will give rise to such honors. It will be up to the CPO alone, via its honors Committee, to decide to whom and in what form the French people and the Republic should show their gratitude. Anyone can point out to him the people, young or old, French or not, alive or dead, who will deserve it. These decorations shall be presented by the President of the Republic, assisted by the President of the CPO and the President of the Chamber of Deputies, during solemn sittings, at locations and on dates fixed by the CPO. The customary speech delivered during the ceremony shall be :

« In the name of the French people and by the powers conferred on us by the Republic, we are honored

- to show you the gratitude of the Nation. »

- make you a knight (or officer or commander) of the Legion of Honour. »

- recognize in you a defender (or benefactor) of the Fatherland (or Humanity). »

These decorations, which are *a priori* intended for individuals, may also be awarded on an honorary basis to groups, companies, corps, etc. Finally, it should be noted that these testimonies of national recognition will not prevent companies and other bodies from adopting their system of recognition and reward of merit and from congratulating whoever they see fit.

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the signs of love that reach him, but the City must not assume that people are virtuous and selfless, its hidden hope being precisely that they become so. However, for them to become so, their ambition must be to become so. To arouse this kind of ambition, it will therefore be necessary that the situation of Citizens who have proved particularly worthy of public recognition appears enviable, and that this moral recognition (which can only seduce those who are already virtuous) is also attached to concrete advantages which, however small they may be, will give great prestige to those who enjoy them, flatter the proud and cause disproportionate but healthy jealousy among others. In short, it will be a matter for the City to offer examples to its Citizens, thus to distinguish among them, in a visible way, those who will be exemplary and whom it will not be possible to follow or with whom it will only be possible to compete by showing talent or by deploying virtues like them. The dream will no longer be to be rich by all means at the expense of others but to be recognized by one's equals for talents and virtues.

However, the Gold Card will have another interest than that of separating Citizens or satisfying the need for recognition or the pride of some or even of insensitively leading people to virtue. In addition to the fact that it is always right to recognize the merits, the City will have, with such a Card, an additional means of motivating the zeal of enterprising Citizens and sweeping away their hesitations to do business. In other words, it will be a question of motivating the Citizens to serve the City as best they can, which will, therefore, institute this Card for both moral and general interest reasons.

To sum up :

### COMPANIES

1. Any group of Citizens who, within the framework of Conventions, will purchase the products or use the services of a multitude of companies to be able to offer the City its products or services will be considered as a company.
2. All Citizens whose Labor will be placed on the market through the products and services of the said company, i. e. all Citizens who, from inside or outside in appearance, will work for it and it alone, will be part of a given company.

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- 3.** In terms of services, each agency - office, branch, etc. - can be considered as a company in its own right, and therefore economically responsible to the City, unless several agencies, for whatever reason, consider themselves as an indivisible company.
- 4.** An employee's civic Card will be valid from the time he enters until he leaves the company. The duration of a hiring will generate as much Positive Time.
- 5.** An employee's civic Card will be valid from the time he enters until he leaves the company. The duration of a hiring will generate as much Positive Time.
- 6.** The creation of companies will be left to the initiative of the Citizens. In the absence of private initiatives, the City (Government or CPO) may create them but will entrust their management to Citizens.
- 7.** Every Citizen will personally be entitled to three unsuccessful attempts at creating a business.
- 8 a.** The creator of a business will be recognized by the City as its Director, as long as he considers himself as such.
- 8 b.** Directors of companies whose number of employees has quadrupled under their management, regardless of the way they have obtained it, will also be considered as creators of a company.
- 9.** The City will not reject any serious business project as long as its purpose is authorized by law or does not infringe it.
- 10.** Companies will have a permanent duty to respond, as far as possible, to all requests made to them.
- 11.** The City will impose minimum results and Conventions on companies that must be met under penalty of sanctions - except in special cases defined by law.
- 12.** The conventional results of companies will depend on the number of their employees. Any increase or decrease in the number of employees will result in an automatic adjustment of the Company's Conventions.
- 13.** Companies with a national dimension or of national interest will depend directly on the CPO, which will set their Conventions and monitor their progress.

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- 14.** The company will be accountable to the City, but employees will only be accountable to the company.
- 15.** The company will freely recruit and dismiss its staff.
- 16.** All the employees of a company will be bound to it, and therefore to each other, by the same Labor contract. This contract, by the law, can be democratically modified by the employees.
- 17.** All employees will be collectively responsible for the general operation of their company, and will also bear any sanctions decided by the City against it.
- 18.** Preventing employees from communicating their opinions or meeting to discuss internal company issues will be an offense punishable by one year in prison.
- 19.** The Equality of employees, as Citizens, will not prevent the hierarchization of the company and the existence of special rights linked to the specificity of each function.
- 20.** Ordinary decisions will be made by employees in the course of their duties. Extraordinary decisions will be made or will require collective approval.
- 21.** Collective decisions, in which only employees with at least one year's seniority may compete, shall have the force of law in the company, even against decisions from the hierarchy, in any field whatsoever.
- 22.** There shall be no daily, weekly, monthly or annual working hours pre-established by the City. Companies will have Conventions and customers to satisfy regarding the City.
- 23.** Any company that has had negative results for five consecutive years will be put into liquidation by the City unless the latter intervenes before or decides to keep it alive.
- 24.** Any acquisition by a company of goods that are superfluous (in relation to its activity) and require maintenance or operating personnel - personnel that will be assimilated to that of the company and taken into account by the City for the establishment of the Conventions - will require the consent of the majority of the employees. These assets will then be available to all.

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**25.** The company shall have the Duty to protect the physical and moral health of its members to the best of its ability.

**26.** Any misuse for specific and/or illegal purposes of the authority entrusted to the company for purposes of general interest will be punishable by sanctions that may go as far as the loss of Citizenship.

**27.** The creator of a company and only he/she can transfer the management of the company to a person of his/her choice. Except in this particular case, any new Director must be elected or approved by all staff.

**28.** Any creator of a company with at least 100 employees (in France) will receive a golden civic Card called the *Gold Card*, which will above all be a mark of recognition on the part of the City but will also confer on him/her a priority access right when he/she asserts it.

**29.** Any company creator with at least 5, 000 employees (in France) will receive a Gold Card with a three-colored ribbon which will give him/her a priority access Right over holders of a simple Gold Card.



### 8. International trade

We are reaching here the most important problem, even more so than the problem of how to do without currency, because anyone who asks himself this last question wonders, even before he has solved it, how a non-monetary country can still be exchanging with the other countries. As it seems impossible at first sight, while international trade has always existed and is now essential, those who are not convinced that Money must be destroyed make this apparent difficulty an insurmountable problem in order to have one more pretext to hang on to the currency and thus sacrifice the Principles on the altar of so-called pragmatism, false insight and mental cowardice.

Nothing will prevent the City from exchanging with monetary countries. A first explanation, which alone guarantees that international trade will take place, is that when all the protagonists of a problem have the same desire and obligation to solve it, it is certainly solved in one way or another. However, other countries will have as much, if not more, interest in exchanging with the City than it does with them. It should not be forgotten, indeed, that the City which will have liberated and mobilized all the Labor forces will be a colossal and formidable economic power. It will produce relatively more, certainly better and inevitably cheaper than any other country in the world. Its products will, therefore, be in demand. It will be a sought-after economic partner.

It thus appears that international trade only seems impossible if the problem is incorrectly posed, if we only consider the need to import that the city will have, if we neglect the opportunities it will have to sell its products and the need for other countries to trade with it, in short, if we address the issue in a single direction. However, it is natural that, with regard to a City that has abolished currency within its territory, since it is used to buy, the common reflex is to wonder how it (or its companies) can still pay for its imports and to conclude that it will not be able to do so, that it will, therefore, be cut off from the world. But that's forgetting that anyone who buys with currency must first get it.

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In short, the City (social body) will evolve in a capitalist world as an individual (human body) does in a monetary system. Money does not circulate any more inside a man, between his cells or organs, than it will circulate in the City, between Citizens or companies. To get what he needs and can only get by paying, an honest individual sells his products or his labor force to earn currency. Similarly, the City will export and sell part of its production to build a budget in foreign currencies (148), a budget that it will, of course, have to manage. That said, trade, whether between individuals or between countries, can also take the form of barter.

It should be noted that the City will only use currency as long as the other countries will still be monetary, but that this will in no way alter its internal functioning. Now, if there is no doubt that the City will be able to exchange with the rest of the world, it is obvious that things will, as always, be more complex in reality.

As we have seen, the first problem for the City will not be to pay for its imports but to raise funds, which can only come from the exports of its companies. Theoretically, the City could collect all the revenues generated by its exporting companies, since, working for it as part of their Duty, their production will belong in the first place to it. But, aware that they will have an immediate need for funds to meet the expenses inherent in exporting to monetary countries, it will only deduct a significant part of their profits, a share that will be fixed for all companies by law. These levies will not be detrimental to them or their employees since neither of them will need currency inside the City.

Nevertheless, one might wonder what interest the City's companies will have in exporting their production if they do not

(148) We can also imagine a system in which the City would issue its own currency for external use, a currency that would allow foreigners to buy its products (the cheapest on the international market). This currency would, therefore, give its holders real purchasing power and would be virtually guaranteed on the City's future productions. Foreigners, to obtain it, would, therefore, accept it as payment from the City. This currency would quickly be used, like any other currency, in transactions that no longer concern the City. It would be all the more appreciated and sought after as it would be the most stable and strongest on the market, the City's economy being one of the most prosperous and protected from any (financial) crisis. This solution, which could be further developed, could, for example, be considered to compensate some of the former foreign investors and pay the first suppliers for the time the City collects foreign currency.

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gain anything financially speaking. Their interest will be that of any company : to satisfy its Conventions, to achieve its results, so as not to be sanctioned. The City, which will need some of them to export, will, therefore, take into account a company's exports as much as its sales on the domestic market. Thus, companies, assured of serving their interests regardless of who their customers are, will not see any disadvantages in exporting their products and some, in search of opportunities, will even find it advantageous. They will, therefore, *a priori* be free to use all or part of their production for export and to set their prices for said products.

But the financial resources generated by exports left to the initiative of companies may not be enough to compensate for the City's expenses. The latter will nevertheless have the Right to encourage its companies to export (by introducing, for example, the notion of coefficients in the conventional results), or even to enter into contracts with other countries or foreign companies in their place that they will be required to honor or to exercise a pre-emptive right on all or part of their production to sell it abroad. It may also encourage them to review their prices. Finally, the City will have the Right to limit or prohibit the export of certain products.

It is yet to be determined who will collect the financial income from exports, pay for imports and manage the City's budget.

The first line organizations, in direct contact with national companies and foreign companies, will be banking institutions called *National Banks*. Any company asked to import or export must open an account in a National Bank of its choice. The revenues of exporting companies will be paid into their accounts, with the City's share being directly deducted by their Bank and paid into that Bank's specific account. The individual accounts of all the Banks will form a virtual joint account, its content constituting the national Treasure. The Banks will pay for the imports of their affiliated companies from their individual accounts or, when they are exhausted, from the joint account, without incurring sanctions from the City, because it is precisely in the event of an imbalance between the Banks - some having more exporting companies as customers, others more importing companies - that this joint account will be created. It is understandable that the Banks, not being able to prohibit

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companies from importing and being forced to pay for the goods in question, as well as not being involved in the activity of the exporting companies whose revenues they will collect, will individually have no means of managing the joint account, i. e. balancing the City's budget.

Managing the National Treasury by adopting appropriate general or specific measures and controlling the Banks' activities will be the role of the Ministry of economy and finance, which will itself be under the supervision of the CPO. The State (the Government) will not have a budget but will be able to draw at will from the national Treasury, its rare purchases and the allocation of funds must nevertheless be approved in advance by the CPO.

But, let's go back to the National Banks. We have said that companies will be able to open their accounts at the Bank of their choice. Indeed, these establishments will not be public institutions but competing companies. Like any company, they will, therefore, have Conventions setting out the results to be achieved, depending on the number of employees, which will result in a number of customers to be served. Competition will be established between Banks in terms of the quality of their services, their ability to make payments, etc.

Their main activity will consist not only in paying imports from foreign companies and collecting the proceeds of exports from the City's companies but also in authorizing the entry or exit of exported or imported goods from the territory. Nothing may enter the City that has not been paid for by it or that it will have to pay ; nothing may leave without it having collected the payment or having the means to claim it. In other words, the National Banks, the City's instruments, will be an intermediary between the City's companies and foreign companies or, more precisely, their banks. Whether a company imports or exports, it must somehow notify its Bank of the current operation. Currency exchanges will be made directly from bank to bank (as is already generally the case today) so that companies will never have any currency in their hands. It is also very likely that material currencies will no longer exist.

But a monetary system, by its very nature, corrupts people and is conducive to all forms of corruption. Will the city that will need currency for its international exchanges, unable to do otherwise, be spared this fate ?

It will certainly have everything it needs to do so. Citizens will not need currency to access the market and be satisfied. It will,

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therefore, be difficult to corrupt them. Besides, they will not have their own currency, and it will be extremely difficult for them to obtain it. Even if a handful of Citizens manage to get some, at great risk and in small quantities to avoid being discovered, the City will not constitute an interesting market for traffickers, who are not philanthropists. In short, Citizens will have no other currency to access illegal foreign goods or products than goods acquired on the City's market and possibly sex. But these impractical trading currencies will not be able to replace currency in a favorable way, even if their marginal or even anecdotal use cannot be ruled out. And let us not forget that the currency will then be virtual and that the City, if it is not, will make every effort to ensure that its Citizens, who will not have a bank account, will never have any in their possession. However, virtual currency is not as easy to smuggle and leaves more traces than material currency. Assuming that this is not an obstacle for some, it will nevertheless be an obstacle for most Citizens.

It cannot, therefore, be said that there will be no cases of corruption and small-scale trafficking in the City, but it can be said without fear that large-scale corruption and large-scale trafficking, requiring considerable amounts of funds and a multitude of customers, will be impossible, because the City, the Banks and the companies concerned will necessarily notice that this currency comes from their coffers or does not enter them.

However, some might think that bankers, custodians of the national Treasure, and therefore well placed to divert large amounts of funds, will occasionally be tempted to do so. That is why only French Citizens, *a priori* faithful to their fatherland and honest servants of the City, can found National Banks or be employed by them. Besides, the Banks, which are responsible for paying for the purchases of companies, will not be able to place any orders abroad themselves, and any movement of funds will have to be charged to a company's account. Bankers will, therefore, have no way of discreetly misappropriating funds for their benefit or at least no pretext to manipulate them for personal purposes. However, Banks will be required to adopt a rigorous system for controlling the inflows and outflows of funds, and their activities will be controlled by the Ministry of economy and finance, and those of companies by the Control Commissions. Finally, any Citizen and *a fortiori* any banker guilty of the slightest embezzlement, corruption or complicity in an offense of this kind

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will be considered a traitor, dispossessed of everything, punished with at least 10 years in prison, and then banned forever from the City. Any guilty fugitive, far from enjoying his loot in peace, will be hunted down wherever he is and brought back into the City to serve his sentence.

We now know how the City will be able to export. It remains to be seen how companies will import.

First of all, let us remember that imports will be paid for by the City, which will, therefore, have to manage its budget. The Ministry of economy and finance, which will be in charge of this operation, will set annually the overall amount that ordinary imports from all companies should not exceed (extraordinary orders will be examined by the Government and paid separately.) Only companies will have the right to order products abroad, and all will have this right as long as the national budget allows it. (Individuals wishing to order foreign products will have to go through companies specializing in these types of operations.) A system (to be studied) will be set up to prevent certain companies, due to the nature of their activity and the cost of their orders, from exhausting the budget on their own. In the same spirit, and for the same reasons, the City may limit in number of articles or monetary amounts, the Citizens' Right of access, on the national market, to foreign products.

The framework is set. At the end of the day, it will hardly change current practices. By ordering their products abroad, the City's companies will at the same time send a payment order by cheque or computer to their Bank, which will know who to pay and which goods will soon arrive at the City's border where a strict control will be carried out.

After the circulation of goods, that of people. The bogus humanists will be shocked that we did not deal with the question of people before the question of things, but it was necessary to start by explaining how the City will obtain funds to pay for its imports and, as we will see, the trips of its Citizens abroad.

Once again, before asking how Citizens will be able to travel, we must think of foreigners who will want to visit the City and whose money will not be worth anything, so understand that the problem will not only arise from the perspective of the City but that

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the interest of all countries will be to find a solution and that they will find one or several.

We have already seen (Part II, Chapter 2) that tourists, i. e. foreign nationals on leisure trips, but not as immigrants (considered, themselves, as Citizens of France), will be provided by the City with a special card that will give them unlimited access to everything they may need, to everything that will make their stay in the City pleasant. So they will not use currency ; they will not spend anything, at least not on the spot. The City will, therefore, be unable to quantify the cost of their presence and the profit it would have made at their expense if it had not abolished the monetary system.

A first solution would be for the City to arbitrarily set a rate for a day of tourism, a kind of package so that tourists pay for the cost of their stay to the City. This rate would be the same for all tourists, regardless of their country of origin and social level. But, considering that tourists will probably have a higher purchasing power in the City than in their own country, this rate would be either too low, in order to be attractive, or, to be in line with capitalist logic, too high and prohibitive. We must also consider that if the City adopts such a solution, it will have to finance the travel of its Citizens and limit their consumption so as not to ruin themselves or allow them, like the tourists it will receive, to enjoy their stay without worrying about the cost. A tariff system would therefore either be unfair to Citizens or disadvantageous to the City. Nevertheless, this remains a solution. But there is a much simpler one to consider.

The problem will be that the City, not being a monetary system, will not be able to quantify the cost of tourism or benefit financially from it. But tourists will come from monetary countries. Plus, Citizens will go to these countries as tourists. It will therefore be sufficient for the City and these countries to adopt agreements (as there are already a multitude of them), which will grant Citizens as tourists the same freedoms as foreign tourists in the City, so that they equally enjoy their respective stay and the cost of a day's tourism can be determined on the basis of the expenses of Citizens in other countries. These agreements will also determine the means of payment (not cash, but, for example, cheques) that Citizens will receive, which should enable the City and the foreign State to control their expenses or rather their purchases and prevent abuses, and which will pay the invoices (it

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could be the City to which they are addressed as well as the State of the countries concerned). In the end, each State will know how many Citizens it has received in the year, how many days each has stayed, and how much they have spent or cost overall. A quick calculation (149), which the City and the foreign State will each do separately, will give the average cost of a day's tourism, a figure obtained from the Citizens but valid for tourists from the country in question. By multiplying this result by the sum of the number of days spent in the City by tourists from the said country, the City will know the total cost they represented or what tourism should have brought it in that year. Finally, whoever has received the least tourists, and has therefore paid less for tourists of the other than the other for its own, will pay the other the difference in cost (150).

But not all foreigners in a country are strictly speaking tourists. At least three other categories of people can be distinguished : students, temporary workers (who will not be Citizens) and employees of foreign companies on business trips. By their occupations, they will not consume like tourists, and counting them as such would distort the results. These people will, therefore, have to be counted separately and provided with a specific means of payment so that they are not confused with ordinary tourists. For the rest, the same as above.

A final distinction may have to be made by the City regarding its foreign Citizens (nowadays called « immigrants ») who want to travel to their country of origin or that of their parents. Because it should not be the case that, under the pretext that the Citizens will travel at the City' expense, these Citizens finance the members of their family who have remained in their country or take the opportunity to buy important and expensive goods (cars, houses, etc.) that they will leave there but will find once they have left the City, when the latter can no longer bring them anything. A solution must be found that will allow them to make this kind of trip without being able to abuse or deceive the City.

Other special cases may require appropriate measures. But as these measures are subject to international agreements that vary

(149)  $\text{Sum of Citizens' expenses paid by the foreign State or the City (according to the adopted convention) / sum of the number of days spent by Citizens in the foreign country in question} = \text{average cost of a day's tourism.}$

(150) This system, based on the cost of living in each country, will therefore no longer penalize countries with a weak currency.



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from one country to another, it is useless and impossible to consider them all. Let us simply note that there is no reason why the legitimate desires of Citizens cannot be satisfied by a system that has easily overcome difficulties that are considered insurmountable.

One last point, on the subject of exchanges and the movement of people between various Cities.

So far, we have assumed that the City would be surrounded by monetary countries. The first City will inevitably be in this situation. But sooner or later, its example will be emulated, especially in Western countries and particularly in Europe. Yet, between Cities, the problems and measures mentioned above will make no sense. The movement of goods and persons will either be free, with the markets of the various Cities becoming one or will be governed by a quota system, to avoid any use of currency. In any case, there will only be one step between Cities and one big federal City.

To sum up :

### INTERNATIONAL TRADE

1. The City will evolve in the monetary world as any individual does : it will sell its work, in the form of exports, and will thus have a budget that it will have to manage and that will allow it to pay for its imports, and other expenses. It will also be able to make barter and even donations.

- Exports and imports

2. The City's companies will be able to devote all or part of their efforts to exports. Their foreign sales (by volume) will be included in their conventional results in the same way as their sales on the domestic market.

3. The City will be able to encourage companies to export to restore its trade balance and will have at its disposal the companies' production, without prejudice for them and their employees, whether to honor international agreements, trade it for raw materials, provide material assistance, etc.

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4. Companies will set the price of their products sold abroad themselves unless otherwise instructed by the City.

5. Exporting companies will transfer most of their profits to the City, in a proportion determined by law.

6. Products imported at the request of companies will be paid for by the National Banks.

- National Banks

7. Companies, known as National Banks, will serve as key intermediaries, at the financial level only, between the City's companies wishing to import or export and the (banks of) foreign companies with which they will be in contact. They will be the only institutions in the City, except the Ministries, to handle monetary assets, in the form of foreign currency. They must be informed, on the one hand, of all sales made by the City's companies to foreign customers, in order to register them, authorize the goods to leave the territory and collect their payment, and on the other hand, of all orders placed with foreign companies or individuals, in order to pay them, authorize the entry of the goods into the territory and ensure that they are properly delivered.

8. National Banks will be normal companies, except that they will only be able to employ French Citizens. They will have conventional results to achieve, which will result in a minimum level of financial activity and a minimum number of customers (companies) to have, under penalty of sanctions or liquidation.

9. Any French Citizen may establish a National Bank.

10. All companies with foreign connections will have to open an account in a Bank of their choice.

11. French exporting companies will deposit their revenues on their accounts and draw from them the funds intended to pay the costs related to the delivery of their goods to foreign territory and the salaries of their employees seconded on-site.

12. The Banks will have a *joint account* on which they will transfer, from the individual account of the companies they will manage, the sums due by the latter to the City and from which

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they will draw to pay for foreign goods (coming from monetary countries).

**13.** The contents of all the Banks' joint accounts will constitute the City Treasury.

**14.** The use of the national Treasury by the Government will be under the control of the CPO, which must give its approval to any expenditure.

**15.** Only companies will be able to import foreign goods.

**16.** National Banks may not place any orders abroad, whether for their own use or otherwise.

**17.** National Banks will automatically forward to the Card Commissions the information they will need regarding the companies under their jurisdiction.

**18.** The Banks will be under the supervision of the Minister of economy and finance.

**19.** Any Citizen guilty of embezzlement, corruption or attempted corruption shall be considered a traitor to the country, expropriated, hunted wherever he may be, imprisoned for at least 10 years, and then banned forever from the City.

**20.** If necessary, the City may limit, in terms of the number of products or monetary amount, the Right of Citizens and companies to access foreign products.

- Movement of people

**21.** The movement of people between the City and other countries will require international agreements.

**22.** Foreign tourists, children or adults, will receive, upon entering the territory of the City or in the French Embassies or Consulates, for the duration of their stay, an individual card that will allow them unlimited access to certain goods and services and that will allow the City to know their number and the exact duration of their stay.

**23.** Foreign tourists will not be able to bring back to their country certain domestic products and no imported products.

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**24.** The expenses of French Citizens or of France traveling abroad for tourism purposes will be covered by the City, according to the method agreed between the two countries.

**25.** Unless international agreements to the contrary are concluded, the movement of people between the City of France and other Cities (non-monetary countries) will be free as within the same City, civic Cards being recognized and valid everywhere.

### 9. Land, Space, and Housing

We have addressed the most important political and economic issues and we could stop there. But it is a subject that raises many questions and still deserves our attention, that of access to housing or, in a broader sense, to the land.

The land is not a product and will therefore not be accessible on the market simply by having a civic Card. It will belong to the City which, without ever giving it away, may and must even entrust parcels of it to individuals, companies and other communities for known and authorized purposes. This Principle, although masked by Mony, has always been in force. Paying to occupy a portion of land has never made the payer a true owner in the eyes of the public authority, which has always reserved for itself the right to expropriate it in the name of the general interest, even if it means compensating him/her. The City will therefore not adopt a new Principle in this area but will innovate in terms of how to gain access to the land and allocate parcels of it.

But it should be noted at the outset that, if individuals will be tenants in the eyes of the City of the ground they will occupy by its grace, their fellow Citizens who will not have the Right to violate the space allocated to them will consider them as owners, and the City itself cannot expel them without solid reasons, exactly as it is today.

Before we see who will have access to the land and how let us first see what it can be used for or by which means it can be monopolized. The importance of the various categories that we will establish below varies according to the Cities (or countries), according to whether their territory is more or less vast and their population more or less numerous, therefore also according to the period.

- 1) *Virgin, uninhabitable, unbuildable and protected areas* (rivers, lakes, marshes, forests, mountains, beaches, parks, ruins, etc.) For a long time, this first category was by far and everywhere the most important. But people, who need space and natural resources and whose numbers are constantly

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increasing, are encroaching more and more on nature, so that in some countries it no longer exists and that, at the global level, it is threatened with exhaustion. Nevertheless, they are beginning to become aware of this threat and are making efforts to preserve their environment and protect their heritage when it is not too late. There is no doubt that these efforts will increase tenfold once Momy is wiped out. But these protective measures, while necessary, somehow amputate the City's territory since they *de facto* reduce the space available for Citizens and their activities.

- 2) *Fields and pastures*. Agriculture and livestock, which for a long time were the main activities of mankind, are also the most space-consuming. Although they use fewer arms than before thanks to mechanization, this remains true in most countries, since people still need to eat. Some, such as England, have, however, sacrificed their agriculture for the benefit of industry.
- 3) *Roadways and public infrastructure* (roads, streets, railways, canals, ports, airports, electricity networks, etc.). These narrow spaces throughout the City's territory ultimately take up a considerable amount of land. All this space is irretrievably lost for the Citizens and their activities that need it to exist and flourish. The City cannot, therefore, make any savings on this position.
- 4) *Factories*. Industry (in the current sense of the word), born in the 19th century, is a recent activity. Between workshops, offices and storage areas, it needs a lot of space. But this is recovered in whole or in part when the activity collapses or is relocated abroad. However, the City will not have to rely on relocations (linked to Momy) to recover space, because, on the one hand, they will be stopped and, on the other hand, industry will flourish again.
- 5) *Public buildings* (palaces, town halls, embassies, theatres, stadiums, etc.), *administrative buildings* (posts, schools, barracks, etc.) and *various businesses*. All countries have so far devoted part of their space to this type of building, whether for reasons of prestige, convenience, etc. or because they had sufficient space. But, as the population increases and the space is reduced, the place occupied by some of these

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buildings can no longer be exclusively reserved for them and must be shared, by superposition, with buildings of the following category. However, this is not always possible and is only possible for some administrations and companies.

- 6) Buildings. The first houses built by humans were huts, shacks, etc., what we now call individual houses. In some places and generally for defensive reasons, the concentration of inhabitants led to the birth of cities and a new type of buildings, adjoining each other, each with several floors and often containing several homes, which we call buildings. Generally intended for housing, buildings can also house workshops, shops, small businesses, most often on the ground floor, or offices. This type of building is the most space-efficient since it provides people with the ground surface multiplied roughly by the number of floors.
- 7) *Individual houses or villas.* As we have just seen, this type of one-level housing, pleasant but space-consuming, was the first and will logically continue in agrarian « Societies », being more practical for farmers to live in the middle of their fields and livestock. Apart from peasants, aristocrats and rich people were for a long time the almost only ones who had their own houses, less for necessity than for pleasure. But after the rural exodus which, in the 19th and 20th centuries, caused the majority of the population to crowd into the cities, many people, thanks to an easier life, now aspire to a detached house and a piece of garden, whether in a primary or secondary residence.

These are the different ways in which land can be distributed. As it is the City's property, it is up to it to define to what such space can be allocated and to whom it can be entrusted, in short, to adopt a balanced land policy that best satisfies the supposed general interest and legitimate particular interests. Yet, whatever its size, it must give priority to building public utility buildings, roads, and other traffic routes, enabling companies in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors to exist, and providing housing for all its Citizens. It should also make nature conservation and environmental protection one of its priorities if there is still time. This order of priorities leads us to notice two things : the first is that natural spaces (first category) have long seemed superfluous, as they were abundant ; the second is that the type of habitat is a

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secondary issue and that individual houses are superfluous for Citizens.

As long as a handful of Citizens are enough to feed all the others, these others do not need access to the land and can be housed in apartments. The Right of a Citizen is to be housed with dignity, not necessarily to live in a private house. This is recalled by the Declaration (Article XXVI a) which, being of universal application, cannot prescribe to the Cities the type of housing they must provide to their Citizens.

In terms of land, all countries are in a situation between two extremes : that of countries with a relatively small population compared to their size and that of overcrowded countries that no longer have virgin land. In the first case, all Citizens could, in theory, have a private house. In the second case, the question does not even arise. Even in sparsely populated countries, many Municipalities are in the same situation as in overpopulated countries, as the population still tends to concentrate in economically dynamic and socially vibrant regions. The density of a country (number of inhabitants/surface area) is, therefore, misleading data which certainly makes it possible to guess the general or theoretical position of the City in terms of land distribution but does not reveal anything about the policy that the Municipalities can practice. In other words, land policy is less a matter for the City than for the Municipalities.

It is nonetheless up to the City to say who can have access to the land and a detached house, and under what conditions. In the eyes of the law, there are only three categories of persons : national Citizens, Citizens, and foreigners. Whatever the City' s land situation, it is against all the Principles that foreigners should own the City and dispose of national territory. (Remember that, for the City, a foreigner will not be an immigrant, but a tourist or a visiting foreign worker.) By contrast, it is logical that a City with little space to devote to individual housing should reserve it only for national Citizens who, even so, will not all be granted one. But even if a City were to have more space, which, as we have seen, does not mean much, national Citizens, rightly rewarded for their devotion and loyalty to their country, should always have exclusive access to the land for housing purposes. Otherwise, it would often happen that ordinary Citizens are satisfied before them, which would be interpreted as ingratitude on the part of the City and would devalue the Nationality. However, very large Cities



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may consider recognizing the Right of all their Citizens to have a private house, but only if they give priority to national Citizens.

There may be a fourth category of persons who, being neither Citizens nor foreigners, will have the Right to dispose of a piece of land and to whom the City must provide one, *as far as possible* (Cf. art. X of the Declaration). They will be people born within the City, who will neither want to be part of it nor « expatriate » and who will, therefore, need to be granted a parcel of habitable and cultivable land, on the condition that they provide for all their needs by their efforts. Unlike Citizens united to the City by the Social Contract, these persons must undertake to renounce all Rights of the Citizen, a condition for the City to discharge them from the Duties of the Citizen and grant them a piece of land. But, let us be sure that few will choose such a life, because it doesn't require much thinking to see that it will be nothing more than hard work and misery, and even fewer will stick to it (151). These lost Citizens will, therefore, sooner or later return to the City, but they will not be able to keep the land they occupied because of their particular situation, otherwise it would be too easy to circumvent the laws on access to land, and their Positive Time will be as it was before their retirement.

It is still to be determined who will define what this or that portion of land will be used for and how Citizens will gain access to it.

It is the City's responsibility to entrust the land or determine its use. But the term « City » has several meanings. It can refer to the country, all Citizens, National Citizens, the State or Government, the CPO, institutions, local authorities and sometimes even isolated Citizens, in short, any individual or group who, by nature or at a given time, represents the City. In this case, the Government (subordinate to the CPO), an organ of the general will, could take on this mission alone and govern everything. But it is never good for powers to overlap. Yet its decisions would inevitably concern the territory of the Regions, Districts and in particular the Municipalities, which cannot be ignored in matters that will directly affect them and that they will be in the best position to deal with. Also, to accomplish such a

(151) Returning to the earth was a trend in the 1970s. Few followed it. Even less were those who persevered.

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task, the Government would have to set up an extraordinary administration which, if centralized, would be proverbially heavy and slow, and which, if decentralized, would compete directly with the Municipalities. On the other hand, it is impossible for the Government not to have any authority in this matter. It should have the right to take alone the decisions that cannot be taken by local authorities and that they will be required to admit or apply. These decisions will mainly concern national projects in the first, third and possibly fourth and fifth categories, that is, in order and simplified manner, protection of the environment and cultural heritage, construction of roads and creation or safeguarding of specific industrial or public buildings. Conversely, it should have a right of veto, i. e. the right to oppose decisions taken locally that it considers harmful, dangerous, etc. Finally, it must have an intermediate right to be able to submit to the Municipalities projects or wishes in areas falling within their competences and which they may adopt or reject.

Basically, except for rare interventions by the State, the Municipalities will manage their land as they see fit. Municipalities (counterbalanced by Muncipales) will divide their territory, establish the category of each parcel and decide on their use when they fall under the first (natural spaces) and third (roads and public infrastructure) categories or, in some cases, the fourth (factories), fifth (public buildings or places and companies) and sixth category (buildings). In other words, they will be omnipotent for everything that concerns the public interest and will not imply the allocation of parcels to natural or legal persons for private or strictly economic purposes. The attribution of plots to individuals or companies will ultimately depend on an independent Commission, the *Land, Space, and Housing* Commission.

Like all Commissions (see Part II, Chapter 6), this Commission will be composed of national Citizens drawn by lot on the territory under its jurisdiction (one or more Municipalities) and called to sit for one year. Each month new Commissioners will join it while the older ones will leave it. Its decisions will be taken by the Commissioners, meeting daily in general assembly, so that corruption and particular interests cannot influence them. It will have records on all the parcels, all the buildings, all the companies, all the apartments, all the houses, to know how the space is occupied and by whom. All information on this subject must be transmitted to it by the appropriate authorities.

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That said, the Commission's role will be less to allocate spaces and housing than to validate their occupation. Citizens, companies and other groups will certainly be able to contact it to obtain an apartment, a house, a plot of land, a field, a room, etc., they will even be able to make specific requests, but they will not be obliged to use it. They will be able to search for what suits them on their own via newspapers, the Internet, specialized agencies, etc. They will even be able to make exchanges between individuals. But, in any case, an occupation will only be official once it has been validated by the Commission. Without this validation, the place concerned will be considered free (and therefore likely to be assigned by the Commission to someone else), and any occupation illegitimate.

The Commission's role will, therefore, be very simple : to verify that Citizens, businesses, and others have the right to access or occupy the place indicated in their file, to accept or reject their request and possibly propose other places. The Commission will process the files in the order in which they are received. A Commissioner will not be able to leave his duties until all the files filed at his office have been processed, so his interest, merging with that of the plaintiffs, will be to process them as soon as possible. After one month, any further delay will be sanctioned by as much Negative Time.

For companies, the decisions of the Land, Space, and Housing Commission will be temporary until the Convention Commission has approved the professional project requiring the location in question.

Regarding Citizens, the right to land or space for housing purposes will be strictly individual. But, given the purpose to which it will relate, it must be limited both in the number of parcels and surface area. It will also be necessary to distinguish between apartments that consume little space and that the City can build in infinite number, and individual houses or building land that the City and the Municipalities will have at their disposal in limited quantity and to which only national Citizens will or should have access to. Each City then has to adopt the laws that its land situation will allow it to.

The laws in this area will be simple. They will indicate the minimum (at least one apartment) and maximum (in number and surface area) to which a Citizen will be entitled, as well as the various possible intermediate combinations. When a Commission

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examines a file, it will check the applicant's situation and grant the request if it complies with the law. Citizens will therefore sometimes have to give up on one side to enjoy on the other.

It should be noted that the City will set the minimum surface area for an apartment and the maximum surface area for a plot of land but will not prescribe the construction of identical apartments and the division of the land by the Municipalities into plots of the same size. The Municipalities and builders will do according to the available space and needs. However, it is clear that the trend will be towards the construction of spacious apartments and that the tiny and disgraceful apartments will gradually disappear in the City.

It is necessary to integrate this : the City will adopt laws at will but cannot transform the concrete from one day to the next. They will not destroy the cities. At the end of capitalism and long after, most Citizens will stay in apartments dating from the « old regime ». But then they will be relieved of all the financial hassles ; they will no longer have to pay rents, charges or taxes ; they will be able to repair and fix their housing if they do not change it, at no cost to them. They will no longer remain locked up in their apartments since they will have access to all the distractions. And then, wherever they live, the social climate will be calmer. In short, so many things will change around them that they will see differently those that do not move, if not slowly.

It is no secret that it will be impossible and unnecessary for individuals to « acquire » housing to rent it and live at the expense of tenants. To use an unfortunate but meaningful term, all Citizens will be homeowners. However, the laws will not be retroactive. The current owners of apartments and rental houses will remain the official owners. However, they will be prohibited from evicting tenants for any reason whatsoever, the very fact that they rent them proves that they do not need them. The City will no longer tolerate Citizens being the toy of some of their fellow Citizens. Moreover, although the laws will not be retroactive, they will affect them. In other words, Citizens who « own » more apartments or housing than the law allows will not be « dispossessed » but will not be able to claim to « acquire » new ones, even for their personal needs, until they comply with the law by renouncing « ownership » over a number of them, preferably over those occupied by tenants. In the same spirit, the City will allow children

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or designated legatees to inherit houses or land, provided that this does not place them in an illegal situation or that they comply with the law by renouncing, if necessary, all or part of their property. There is indeed no reason why the City should not satisfy the legitimate desire of Citizens to pass on their inheritance and in particular real estate to loved ones since these assets will be recovered by someone anyway and it does not matter to it by whom.

The same will not apply to land entrusted to Citizens as a working tool, i. e. for agriculture, livestock and other activities. Not being their property, they will not dispose of it as they see fit, neither during their lifetime nor after their death. As soon as they no longer satisfy their agreements or are unable to satisfy them, these lands will return to the public domain to be entrusted to others by the Land, Space and Housing Commission. The only right the City will be able to grant to those who have earned it will be to give priority to their desires and to grant them if they do not contradict its plans. As a result, land intended for the same use shall not be entrusted to a person other than the person designated by its former depositary.

To sum up :

### **LAND, SPACE AND HOUSING**

- 1.** The land (and all its possible extensions) is the inalienable property of the City, which alone can allocate each of its parcels to the use it pleases and entrust them, in its interest or without going against it, to whomever it wishes.
- 2.** The territory of the City is divided into more or less large parcels which, by virtue of their use or destination, fall into 7 categories : 1) natural, preserved, artificial or unbuildable spaces, 2) fields and pastures, 3) roads, 4) factories, 5) public buildings and businesses, 6) buildings, 7) individual houses.
- 3.** Decisions concerning land, its use or the allocation of plots of land will be taken by the State, the Regions, the Departments, the Municipalities or the Land, Space and Housing Commissions.
- 4.** The State (the Government), the Regions and the Departments alone may take decisions in the national, regional or

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departmental interest concerning the 1st, 3rd and possibly 4th and 5th categories.

**5.** The State may oppose decisions, taken at any level whatsoever, which it considers harmful, dangerous, contrary to the general interest, public health, etc.

**6.** Apart from the previous cases, the land will be managed at the local level.

**7.** Municipalities will divide their territory as they see fit, determine the destination of each parcel and administer only the parcels dedicated to public interest.

**8.** The allocation of plots reserved for Citizens, companies and other groups, for private use or not directly in the public interest, will depend on the local Land, Space and Housing Commission.

**9.** There will be one or more Commissions per Municipality or one Commission for several Municipalities, depending on their size and population.

**10.** The Land, Space and Housing Commissions will be composed of Commissioners drawn by lot from among the national Citizens residing in their district.

**11.** The Commissioners will sit for one year and until all files filed during their term are processed.

**12.** The Commissions' decisions concerning the allocation of a parcel of land shall be taken by a majority of the Commissioners meeting in a general assembly.

**13.** The Commissions shall have up-to-date records on all parcels of land in all categories, whether allocated or free, built or not.

**14.** The role of the Commissions will be to examine requests for land, housing, and premises, proposals for places made by the persons concerned and arrangements made between individuals or companies to satisfy, validate or reject them following the law.

**15.** The conditions to be met by Citizens or companies and other legal entities to access a parcel of land will be defined by law and will depend on the City's land situation.

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**16.** As the City must guarantee housing to all its Citizens, every Citizen will be entitled to at least one apartment of a decent surface area (at least 25 m<sup>2</sup>).

**17.** The law shall establish the maximum number of apartments and their combined surface areas that Citizens may dispose of and the maximum number of individual houses (or land) and their combined surface areas that national Citizens may claim.

**18.** The allocation of space to an entrepreneur or company by the Land, Space and Housing Commission will be temporary until the acceptance by the Convention Commission of the professional project justifying it.

**19.** The vacated premises will be returned to the public domain to be re-allocated or reassigned, depending on their category, by the Municipality or the Land, Space and Housing Commission.

**20.** Citizens wishing to move can either search themselves to whom to transfer their old accommodation (via advertisements, estate agencies, etc.) or entrust it directly to the Commission, which will make public all information about vacant apartments and land (built or not).

**21.** Citizens may inherit movable or immovable property provided they are or become in good standing with the law.

**22.** The fields of deceased or undeserving Citizens will return to the public domain. The Land, Space and Housing Commission may not, however, entrust the land whose destination has not changed to persons other than those designated by living or dead Citizens who have earned it.





### **III**

## **CONCLUSION**



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« For Humanity, the Revolution is done. For the People, it is up to us to do it. » It is with these words that the theory of Civism begins. They now make sense. The Revolution so hoped for, the object of so much fighting and suffering, finally brought within our reach by progress, is no more than a question of will and time. It required two conditions to be met : the ability to mass-produce, without which the liberation of the Citizens' purchasing power is useless and senseless, and information technology, without which it is impossible to create the civic Card, the only means of exchange capable of conveying the Principles of social order, establishing Equality, replacing currency and destroying Money at the same time.

It is, therefore, easier to understand why the thinkers and revolutionaries of yesteryear who could not establish Equality could never theorize it correctly and why no revolution inspired or even led by them was ever successful. It was not a question of head or heart, they had both (152), but of technical means, historical conditions and, consequently, intellectual possibilities. Unable to take down Money, they neglected it without even being aware that they were and sought other causes for the inequality they sometimes attributed to selfishness, ignorance, corruption, religion, lack of spirituality, property, sometimes even to currency (but unaware that it is only a manifestation of Money), and often to governments, the rich, the middle classes, merchants, etc., in short, to people or to some of them. Experience has shown that they were mistaken, that they did not see beyond appearances and that, however well-reasoned their theories may have been, they had serious flaws and fatal mistakes.

(152) It is obviously easier to paint revolutionaries as cruel, sadistic, crazy and stupid men to explain the often tragic turn of past Revolutions, presenting counter-revolutionaries as martyrs and saints in the process, than to restore to everyone their share of responsibility in the events and above all to understand why revolutionaries were generally forced to resort to violence (as was the case with the Jacobins) or why it was an integral part of their ideology (as with the Bolsheviks, the Maoists and the Marxists in general).

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The Patricians, in contrast, no longer pull the wool over their eyes. It is indeed undeniable that the current system is monetary, that Money - defined by Civism as the belief that the notion of (market) value is necessary to exchange - is the *raison d'être* of currency, that it embodies the right to access the market and thus to enjoy the benefits of the City, cannot be equally distributed, so that monetary exchange inevitably leads to inequality in rights between the protagonists of trade (the « Citizens »), and that there will always be rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed in a monetary system. No one can ignore any longer that inequality is the result of Money and currency since a civic Card that would link the Right to access the market to Citizenship would be a means of egalitarian exchange. Finally, no one can continue to argue that the real Equality of Citizens in Rights and the sovereignty of the People are a view of the mind, since Civism explains not only why this sloppy or even hypocritical discourse has long prevailed but also how, and with what ease, Citizens could really be equal and collectively master of their destiny. In short, everyone now knows that Equality must be taken as a compass instead of keeping Money as a ball and chain.

That being said, in the context of this book, Civism is far from answering all the questions. How could it when the change it proposes will have repercussions in all areas and when the slightest answer on a point immediately raises dozens of questions that cannot be anticipated, even though the first measures it recommends are not necessarily definitive. Nevertheless, it points the way to a new world and opens up wide paths through the previously impenetrable jungle of monetary prejudices.

For the first time in history, a theory presents a clear Social Contract, intended to be submitted to the approval of the People, so that the fundamental Duties and Rights of the Citizen, in other words, the bases of the political association or the City, are fixed, known by all and approved by referendum. This Social Contract, which is identical for all Citizens, makes Equality the fundamental Principle of the social order. Even better ! For the first time in the history of thought, the Right to access the market is recognized as an attribute of Citizenship, which is obtained by participating in the life of the City. In other words, this Right will no longer depend on

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any units and will no longer be limited and unequal ; conferred by Citizenship, it will be infinite (or indefinite) and equal for all Citizens who will exercise it through the civic Card.

Civism thus revolutionizes the notion of Citizenship, which until then had been meaningless, since individuals were and still are considered as « Citizens » who unequally enjoy the benefits of their « Society » and are unequal in all rights, hence the impossibility of them being equal in their Duties. But it also revolutionizes the notion of Nationality until then confused with that of Citizenship, for a simple reason : it is possible, in a monetary system, to establish a semblance of equality in political rights, based on nationality, but impossible to establish economic equality, based on citizenship. Confusing the two notions, therefore, makes it possible to conceal economic inequality and to claim that « Citizens » are equal in rights because they are legally equal in political matters.

In addition to this imposture, this confusion also has the consequence (intended or not) of denying Citizenship to individuals who do not claim Nationality but participate in the life of the City, or, conversely, obliges to recognize rights (political or economic) to naturalized individuals who do not even deserve to be Citizens.

The City, being able to establish economic equality, will no longer need this confusion and will instead need to distinguish the two notions, given the range of the Rights that will be linked to both of them. It will finally be able to recognize Citizenship to all individuals who participate in the life of the City, according to what it considers to be participation, without automatically granting them the Nationality which will be reserved for Citizens who request it and fulfill the particular Duties that it will imply (including a one-year National Service). Citizenship will then attest to the activity of individuals in the City, regardless of their origins ; Nationality, attachment, and loyalty to the Nation.

From this distinction between Citizenship and Nationality derives two notions of the City : the City in the broad sense, which will be all Citizens, and the City in the strict sense, the Nation, the People, which will be all national Citizens, the only ones with political Rights. This distinction already exists in part because foreigners (non-naturalized immigrants) are de facto excluded from the political body. Nevertheless, it remains that by being granted today according to criteria, and not in return for the

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voluntary fulfillment of Duties, nationality, insignificant, is no longer a pledge of loyalty towards the « Society », mistrust is growing between the original nationals and the naturalized individuals, and under these conditions, the Nation is morally and physically weaker. The clear and fair distinction made by Civism between Citizenship and Nationality will have the opposite effects ; it will strengthen the real and emotional ties between Citizens and the City, and between national Citizens, regardless of their origins, and the Nation.

Another revolution, Civism rejects the notions of natural, divine, monetary (having no other *raison d'être* than currency) and other rights, because it considers that Duties and fundamental Rights are neither innate nor invented, but derive primarily from the logic of an imaginary act of political association - that is, a free union between individuals seeking to escape the state of Nature, a state of lawlessness in which temporary force and permanent insecurity prevail - and that, consequently, they exist only in Society or by the grace of a Society. Whether or not this is the true origin of human groups does not matter, since it is up to the living to establish the relationships they want between themselves and the Social Contract is precisely intended to allow them to do so openly and consciously. It is nevertheless by imagining for what purpose and under what conditions individuals can freely constitute a Society that Civism succeeds in establishing the Duties and fundamental Rights of the Citizen.

The Society (or City) is at the origin a question of individual and collective survival. It is this vital need that the Social Contract must satisfy in the first place and which, so to speak, dictates its clauses. As a result, they are relatively simple and primary. Nevertheless, they enshrine the fundamental Principle of Equality, the fundamental Duty of Solidarity, and the fundamental Rights of Security and Freedom. The proposed Social Contract further specifies that the fundamental Right to Enjoy the benefits of the City implies the equality of Citizens in the Right to access the market because of their very Citizenship, an essential precision since such an obvious fact had never been seen before, let alone formulated, whereas inequality in this area is the source of all inequalities.

Once the foundations of the City have been laid, Civism develops the Social Contract into a Declaration of Duties and

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Rights of the People, the Citizen and the City. The aim is to extend the range of Duties and Rights in proportion to immutable human capacities and to establish principles that no social evolution can alter. The feeling of humanity that goes beyond the Citizen and which, for this reason, must not be consulted at the time of the founding of the City can also be expressed at that time and commit the City to recognize the rights of individuals who are not part of it.

We will not go into the details of this Declaration here. Let us only point out that Civism still inaugurates a revolutionary concept by considering that not all Duties and Rights are of the same level, but that there are three kinds : fundamental, indirect and special. This gradation, which does not make the Duties any less compelling and the Rights sacred, is recalled in the preambles of the Declaration, but not in each article.

The fundamental Duties (participating in the life of the City, defending the City, etc.) are subdivided into indirect Duties, of different natures but allowing each to effectively fulfill the same fundamental Duty, and are themselves divided into special Duties which in turn define the indirect Duty which they allow to fulfill. The Principle of Equality then only concerns the fundamental Duties that all Citizens fulfill through different indirect and special Duties to which it cannot, therefore, be applied. There are, however, Duties that not all Citizens have and which, as a result, are called special although they basically have the characteristics of a fundamental Duty since they can also be subdivided into indirect Duties, etc. These are, for example, the Duties linked to Nationality. These Duties confer Rights that we shall refer to as special Rights.

Fundamental Rights (Security, Freedom, Enjoying the benefits of the City) are also divided into Indirect Rights whose exercise or enjoyment makes it possible to enjoy a fundamental Right and at the same time generate special Rights. Unlike the Duties, the Principle of Equality must apply not only to fundamental Rights but also to indirect Rights, because it is false that Citizens are equal in fundamental Rights if they do not all enjoy the same indirect Rights (including the right to access the market) that make it possible to enjoy them. On the other hand, it is ridiculous to want to apply Equality to special Rights, specific to each Citizen or

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distinct from Citizenship, since they stem from the free exercise of indirect Rights (153). Which brings us to the issue of Property.

The fundamental Right to enjoy the benefits of the City implies that Citizens have an equal indirect Right to access the market and a special Right on the goods they receive from it. This special right is Property. It is therefore clear that Civism, an egalitarian theory, admits Property, which consists in being able to freely enjoy one's property while respecting the Rights of others, but does not sink any more into egalitarianism (equality in property) than it does in allowing the possession of everything and anything. Property, as a Right, requires social recognition and cannot be contrary to the interests of the City. It results from the Right to access the market but does not make it possible to obtain this Right, unlike currency, since only Citizenship confers it. It also covers only man-made goods, which excludes individual possession of land and natural resources and condemns the artificial notion of intellectual property. This conception of Property also prevents the possession of human beings and, more broadly, of living beings. Finally, Civism does not allow private or individual ownership of the means of production to which only companies can have access and which only they can therefore own. But, even without legal restrictions, Citizens with equal and in theory unlimited purchasing power would have no interest in privately owned goods for collective use. In short, the Property, which has long been the subject of controversy because it is so closely linked to currency, becomes a secondary issue in the City.

After philosophical problems and the presentation of the civic Card, Civism focuses on the important areas that will inevitably suffer the effects of Equality or require immediate adaptation. It proposes measures, those which it considers most in line with the Principles, but which are nevertheless only proposals to be reviewed or further developed.

First, it addresses the issue of the political framework and the formation of laws. It postulates that (national) Citizens equal in economic Rights will have almost the same weight, the same political force. The monetary system teaches us that the rich, powerful because of the superiority of their economic rights, are

(153) The ordinary Citizens and the national Citizens will be indeed equal in Rights, in fundamental and indirect Rights, since the special Rights related to Nationality do not enter the balance of Equality.



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masters of making or enforcing laws to their advantage. It is therefore logical that, in a Society of Citizens truly equal in Rights, the laws should be made for and by the People.

Equality implies Democracy in the true sense of the word. It could settle for so-called representative democracy, but it cherishes the Principles too much to violate the sovereignty of the People. However, it will not take away the common sense of Citizens who will not ignore the fact that direct democracy - as well as the lack of a means of exchange - is only possible in small Societies. Equality will, therefore, lead to a political system that is halfway between pseudo representative democracy and impracticable direct democracy. Civism proposes that, in parallel with the Parliament, composed of Citizens elected for 5 years and responsible only for drafting laws, a chamber of national Citizens drawn by lot in all districts should be set up to ratify or not, by a two-thirds majority, draft laws which, by their nature, will not, according to the Constitution, require approval by referendum. This chamber of Citizens drawn by lot but willing to sit for one year, called the Court of Public Opinion (CPO), would also ensure that the Government (the President, elected by the People for 10 years, and its Ministers, chosen by him or her) acts according to the laws and does not abuse his or her power. It is also the CPO who would appoint the Minister of Justice. In this way, the principles of the separation of powers (legislative, executive and judicial) and the sovereignty of the People would not only be proclaimed but also respected and applied.

Civism then takes care of the special cases of children, students, the unemployed, stay-at-home spouses, retirees and tourists, all of whom, in the absence of a civic Card, will need a card to access the market. It, therefore, indicates the type of card that will correspond to each of them, the conditions under which they will obtain and keep it, and the purchasing power it will give them. (Students, stay-at-home spouses, unemployed and retired persons will be full Citizens and will, therefore, have a civic Card. The problem for them is of course that they will not participate in the life of the City from an economic point of view.) These details show that the City will be able to adapt to all situations.

The issue of Card validation is a further demonstration of this. Citizens will have Cards. But they will only be a means of attesting and asserting their Citizenship. Outside the hands of their owner or between those of individuals who will no longer be Citizens,

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they will only be a piece of plastic. It should also be remembered that Citizenship - and the Rights that go with it - will never be a definitive achievement, but must always be earned. An individual may thus lose it. Conversely, not all individuals will acquire it in the same way, that is, by having the same kind of activity. However, the validation of the Cards can only take place once the activity of the Citizen has been recorded. The different types of activity will, therefore, give rise to different types of validation : parallel, permanent, temporary and deferred.

But who will manage and control all this ? The State ? No ! It will be reduced to its purest form. All tasks involving a decision of the City which, for practical or moral reasons, cannot be carried out by the State or companies, will be entrusted to local bodies called Commissions, composed of national Citizens drawn by lot and this time required to respond to the City's call. There will be several types of Commissions : Card Commissions, known as Banks (for databanks), Conventions, Revision, Control, Naturalization, Land, Space and Housing Commissions, etc. Let us note in passing the importance of the functions that national Citizens will be called upon to perform and the sacrifices they will have to make to the public sphere, which make it possible to better understand the need to distinguish Citizenship from Nationality and why the latter will confer special Rights and Duties-Rights.

Before coming to the question of companies, Civism considers the issues of retirement and unemployment.

Every able-bodied individual will have, to be a Citizen, the Duty to participate in the life of the City, which, in most cases, will mean Working. However, the City will offer more Labor (even in the capitalist sense) than it will have Citizens to do it. All Citizens will, therefore, be able to fulfill their Duty. There will be no unemployment (in the current sense). Full employment will be permanent. The reason is simple : every Citizen will have a purchasing power greater than his Labor capacities and the Demand of all Citizens will be infinitely higher than the Supply (of goods and services) which will, therefore, be increased until the point at which no Citizen will be available anymore.

That being said, it will happen that Citizens may want to change jobs or need to take a break. The City will not then apply the Principles to the letter ; it will not immediately strip them of

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their Citizenship. But rather than managing all possible situations on a case-by-case basis, it will give all its free and responsible Citizens an equal time credit that they can use as they see fit and that they will have to manage intelligently, because, once their credit is exhausted, any further cessation of activity will lead to the loss of Citizenship. It is these periods of inactivity without loss of Citizenship (and Rights) that, in the City, will be called unemployment. However, these periods will not be taken into account to obtain the Right to retire.

The City will indeed recognize the possibility for its Citizens, if they so wish, to be exempted from Labor after a certain number of years equal for all. Retirement will therefore not be a question of age but of time spent working (or participating in the life of the City). Any Labor (or Citizenship) period will generate as much positive time. A Citizen will, therefore, be able to exercise his Right to Retirement as soon as the accumulation of his positive times reaches the required duration. But, we have just seen that the City will make it possible to be unemployed. However, it will not go so far as to consider that the time spent unemployed counts as much as the same time spent Working. Unemployment will not count for anything. More precisely, it will generate Negative Time that will cancel the Positive Time generated by the validity of the civic Card.

This concept of Negative Time will make retirement the most effective way to keep companies and their employees in the Duty. Because companies will have, like Citizens, but on a different scale, the Duty to participate in the life of the City according to what the latter will consider as participation. In other words, they will have minimum results to achieve or face sanctions, which, in most cases, will be Negative Time. However, a sanction of this nature cannot be imposed on a company as a legal person ; it will be imposed on all the employees of the company in question, in the same way, that the City will validate all their civic Cards without distinction when their company reaches its results. It will, therefore, be up to employees to take the risk of working badly and finally working longer to compensate for the efforts they did not make when they had to or to organize and train each other so that they are never punished. Whatever they do, the City will not lose anything. But it is more than likely that the Workers, listening to their interests, will adopt the second attitude, with the result that the companies will do what the City will expect of them. They will

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do more. Because they will be in competition and will have Citizens as customers. To keep these demanding customers or win new ones and thus avoid any risk of sanctions, they will always have to do their best. Not to mention that they will also compete with foreign companies.

Contrary to a popular misconception, the City will not be cut off from the world. Its Citizens will not use currency, but this will not prevent it from exporting, selling its products, building a budget and thus being able to buy foreign products to meet the needs of its companies or satisfy the desires of its Citizens, even their travel desires. It will not matter to foreign companies who will pay for their products as long as they are paid. In this case, the City's payment (and collection of export revenue) agencies will be institutions called *National Banks*, founded by and composed of national Citizens.

Thus, apart from a high purchasing power, the Duty to participate in the life of the City and certain new obligations for national Citizens, the City will have all the appearances of the current capitalistic systems. Citizens will access the market with a card. They will be free to consume, own, be entrepreneurs, travel, etc. Companies will always be in competition. The economy will be dynamic. The shops will be fully stocked. The City will participate in world trade. But that's where the similarities will end.

The City will inaugurate liberalism without capitalism. There will be less, much less State, and more, many more liberties for all. There will be no or fewer inequalities, only Equality. By attaching the Right to access the market to Citizenship, which is perfectly achievable, the City will not only increase the purchasing power of Citizens, it will release their energy, it will transform their vision of the world (past, present, and future) and ultimately the world itself. Humans (Citizens) will no longer revolve around money ; it is they who will finally be at the center of the system, it is they, and they alone, who will have power. By changing almost nothing at the start, the City will change almost everything in the end.

A third part was planned in this book to explain the consequences of Equality in various fields or to deal, from the perspective of Civicism, with some delicate questions. But, as mentioned above, it is useless to strive for exhaustiveness since it is impossible to be exhaustive in this respect. It was all the more

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useless to dwell on these subjects because those who are now convinced of the merits of Equality can develop them themselves and those who do not want to hear about Equality or believe that Civism is too good to be true would have seen in these developments only new fallacies. Although we will not devote an entire chapter to them, we will nevertheless say a few words about them here.

The general state of mind : Equality, as Civism conceives it, will unerringly develop civic sense and patriotism (154). People cannot achieve the greatest Revolution of all time without a certain pride. Citizens will no longer have all these grievances against the City, which today serve as universal excuses. They will be aware that they enjoy Rights because of their Citizenship and the Duties that it implies. They will be aware that they are part of a national community. National Citizens, involved in public life as never before, will rediscover the meaning of the words fatherland, honor, devotion, public good, sovereignty, etc. All will have this faith that makes the impossible possible.

Working conditions : They can only be objectively better in the City. The conception of the business in the City and collective sanctions will develop in employees a sense of responsibility (individual and collective) and a team spirit, i. e. the entrepreneurial spirit that capitalism hopes in vain to foster in those it exploits. It will not cost companies anything to create, without being asked, a clean and pleasant working environment, equipped with everything necessary and some more. Employees will be able to satisfy many of their desires. Besides, the latter will no longer hold their Rights (and what Rights !) from their company, but from the City, which, added to the rest, will remove all unnecessary tensions. In short, Work in the City will no longer have anything to do with work under Money.

Jobs considered tedious : It would be interesting to explore this question of the tediousness of the jobs. We would probably notice that it depends less on the trades than on the person who considers them. However, one of the major disadvantages of the

(154) Patriotism is to a nation what sap is to a strong tree. Without it, the nation is a dead trunk and individuals are like piled leaves, ready to be scattered at first wind.

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nowadays considered unpleasant jobs certainly is their low level of remuneration, not to mention the contempt to which they are subjected. Equality will make it disappear. But doesn't Mony make these jobs even more tedious or make them tedious through the staff cuts it imposes, the workload it increases tenfold, the safety standards it pushes to violate, the equipment it prevents or dissuades from buying or renewing, the various benefits it denies to the workers who work in these professions ? All these negative aspects will also disappear in the City. These professions will no longer present any disadvantages to those who have chosen to exercise them and will present as few as possible to those who, for various reasons, have not had a choice. That said, machines will assist or eventually replace people in all dangerous, hard, tiring or messy actions. As for whether these trades will be filled, there will be no reason why they should not be filled.

Art and culture : Citizens with considerable purchasing power will naturally be inclined to acquire the best and most beautiful products on the market, so that competition between companies will be based on quality and beauty. Citizens will become demanding ; they will cultivate a taste for aesthetics. Cities will compete to be more beautiful than each other. Artists from all disciplines will be called upon more than ever and will be emulated. The market, i. e. the Citizens, will recognize talent and put pseudo-art and pseudo-artists in their place. Unlike capitalism, which, because it cannot ward off inequality, consoles itself or anesthetizes the crowds by claiming and making them believe that all individuals, all differences, all opinions, all views, all talents and even the absence of talent are equal, the City that will not confuse *Equality* and *uniformity* will not need or be stupid enough to consider that what is not the same is identical and at the same level.

And what will apply to art will also apply to culture. Not everything is cultural. Everything that is or was known may be known but is not always part of the necessary knowledge. There are basics. Thus, an ignorant Citizen will be equal in Rights with his fellow Citizens, but Equality will only bring out his ignorance, of which he can boast today, but from which he will blush tomorrow. Moreover, there is no doubt that Mony is the engine of the *idiot factory* and that, without going so far as to believe that Equality

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will produce geniuses by the bucket, it is reasonable to think that it will raise the general level.

School and public education : Teachers will be Citizens and Workers like any other ; the schools that employ them will be companies like any other and will have results to achieve in terms of success. Any Citizen who can do so shall have the Right to establish a school of any level. All schools, except special schools for special children, will cover a cycle at the end of which students will have to pass a national examination to access the next cycle. The content of the tests for this examination will be defined by the Ministry of public education. The results of this examination will determine the sanctions against school staff.

The Ministry of public education will not impose any textbooks or recommend a pedagogical method. But national examinations, whose tests will only be revealed at the last moment, will force schools to adopt broad and ultimately similar curricula, and the risk of sanctions against teachers will force them, in their own and students' interests, to adopt effective teaching methods and use quality textbooks.

Schools will be required to admit children from their area, although parents will be able to place their children wherever they wish, as far as possible. In short, the schools will neither be public nor private, since they will be, so to speak, private but free. Yet another superficial and sterile old debate, sparked by Mony, which the City will put an end to.

The army : The City will have no hegemonic, imperialist, or colonizing ambitions. What business would it have outside its territory ? It will nevertheless need an army to guarantee its independence, to help its allies and to be heard on the international scene. And this army of Citizen soldiers will be one of the most powerful in the world. It will be one of the most modern and best equipped. Ships, planes, tanks, armaments, equipment of all kinds, it will lack nothing since the City's companies will produce everything at the simple request of the Government, which will no longer be limited by a budget.

Towns and regions : The law will be the link between all parts of the City. Municipalities and regions, not having (needing) a budget anymore, not being dependent on the resources, charity, and

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whims of anyone, will be able to undertake without delay all that they want (constructions, repairs, etc.). The small municipalities will no longer be oppressed by the large ones.

The rural world : Citizens farmers and herders will no longer fear bad weather and epidemics that will no longer compromise their Rights. In the event of a disaster, they will no longer need to cry, humiliate themselves with the insurance companies or the State ; they will rebuild themselves without delay and without losing anything of their exploitation. They will no longer be caught by the distributors' throats. In short, their fate could not be better. They will no longer desert the countryside. Schools and shops will no longer be closing in small towns, which will even see more opening, giving them new life and making them attractive. The Citizens of the countryside will have such purchasing power that it will generate a lot of jobs. As a result, the City will undoubtedly witness an urban exodus. As soon as they find in the countryside all the amenities essential to modern man, nothing will hold back in the city those city dwellers attracted by nature and calm, eager to « have » a house, able to find work everywhere or not needing to be in the city to work (thanks to modern means of communication and locomotion).

Immigration and immigrants : The concept of Nation is historically ethnic and essentially political ; it is an abstraction linked to a reality. (Cf. Dominique Schnapper, *La communauté des citoyens*, Gallimard, 1994) Nations are initially constituted by Peoples (whose existence is founded on an ethnic, historical and cultural basis) driven by a political, unitary, egalitarian and transcendent project (the racial question). The political aspect of this concept confers on it a capacity for integration, and therefore attraction, but the original link between an ethnic group and a Nation sets a limit to this capacity, because if a Nation can no longer be entirely confused with the ethnic group that has forged its soul, it cannot exist as such without it (except, to a certain extent, in the case of Nations founded by immigrant populations, as in America or Australia). It is therefore important to distinguish between immigrants and immigration (155), between individuals who are

(155) There is not one immigration, there are many because immigration has particular characteristics depending on the origin of the immigrants. However, the population of the destination country also has its characteristics. The more similarities there are between immigrants and indigenous people, the easier it is



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not themselves a problem, and the collective phenomenon of immigration which, if it is too important in relation to a given Nation and the origin of immigrants, is a source of multiple problems and can even become a mortal danger (156).

for the former to acculturate and for the latter to accept them ; the less there are, the more difficult they are, especially if immigration is massive and continuous. A sovereign Nation, therefore, has not only the Right but also the Duty to distinguish immigrants to anticipate the specific problems they will create or encounter and prevent them by managing each of them accordingly. In this way, it shows respect for people and political realism.

(156) History offers many examples of immigrant populations who came to work or to have a plot of land, who colonized and eventually submerged, drove out or even exterminated the original population. All Peoples, all of them, at one time or another in their history, were dominated or dominating, invaded or invading, conquered or conquering. Morality : The settled Peoples, to remain masters at home, must assimilate the newcomers, thus limiting their number and imposing their laws on them, or expel them immediately under penalty of one day being driven out or dominated by them. It does not matter under what conditions they present themselves, whether armed or on an empty stomach. *Continuous* influxes of poor migrants are potentially more dangerous than war hordes, because armed men constitute an obvious threat, arouse natural hostility and provoke an immediate reaction whose legitimacy is not disputed by anyone, whether or not it is successful, while the poor migrants generally provoke indifference or a reflex of generosity, are indefinitely considered as a harmless *minority* even when their numbers (including newcomers, settlers and their descendants) do not cease to increase and disarm through emotion the effeminate Peoples who, always with tears in their eyes and biting more than they can chew, do not see or refuse to see that things have changed dramatically because of their blindness. Until one day everything changes. It turns out that the immigration that seemed to be a difficult puzzle is but a Gordian knot. Thus, those who ignore or forget that Peoples, Societies, and cultures are, whether we like it or not, in a balance of power, show weakness and condemn themselves to disappear sooner or later, unless they open their eyes to the alarming situation in which their frantic and suicidal naivety has plunged them and decide to react vigorously before it's too late.

Such are, generally speaking, the inherent dangers of mass immigration. But let us now consider mass immigration for a liberal People seduced by Civism, that is, aspiring to the purest Democracy. This People has such aspirations because it has a long experience of « democracy » and is historically mature to move to the next level. But do immigrants have this experience, this culture, these aspirations, are they in tune with the local population ? It is unlikely, since they come from different Peoples, that each People is at a different level of evolution and therefore has different conceptions in all things. It would take a lot of bad faith to deny the existence of these differences and their consequences, both individually and collectively.

This being understood, what can be, for a liberal People, the consequences of the arrival of immigrants who do not have the same political culture or the same ambitions ? If they are few, their influence is nil, whether or not they have the right to be heard. If they are very numerous, without the right to be heard, their mere presence causes social problems that monopolize the attention of nationals and

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That being said, the City will control immigration, since it will be impossible to live there without a civic Card, which can only be obtained by working or exercising a recognized activity, which will require a residence permit and a work permit (157). Traffickers of

divert it from the Revolution as long as they are not resolved, which can take a very long time. It should also be noted that the more immigrants there are, the more they mix, the less they need to assimilate, especially when the law, under the pretext of tolerance, does not force them to do so. They are then nothing more or less than strangers. Denying them the political rights that there is no justification for them to enjoy is then a lesser evil. It follows that if they are very numerous and have the right to be heard, the Revolution is compromised not only because of the problems mentioned above, but also because of the ineptitude of nationals who clearly disregard the Principles of the social order since they have given political weight to foreigners who do not aspire to the Revolution like them and who, in this respect, are a liability, so to speak. (Except in special cases, immigrants are not revolutionaries, otherwise, they would have made the revolution at home instead of seeking fortune from others.) Needless to say, if immigrants and their close descendants are in the majority, any revolution becomes impossible.

Thus, unless immigration is insignificant, it is a counter-revolutionary phenomenon. It is therefore imperative, for a People historically ready for the Revolution and willing to do so, but suffering from massive immigration, to control, or even interrupt, migratory flows and assimilate immigrants, if they are capable of doing so, or to drive them out, if they no longer have a choice. Unfortunately, there are not that many solutions to solve the problem, and it must be solved in one way or another for the Revolution to become possible. There is no hatred towards anyone in this speech. The facts are there. Everything else is utopia and bullshit.

(157) Let us recall here Article XI of the Declaration of Rights according to Civism : « Everyone has the right to choose his City, provided that the said City agrees to accept him or her and that he or she is worthy by his or her actions to be a part of it. » This article is therefore not opposed to the City welcoming immigrants but leaves it free of its desires and only judge of its interests. Let us recall again that, for Civism, there are no natural rights, there are real Rights only in Society, between Citizens bound by a Social Contract, equal in Duties and Rights, that Rights (except those resulting directly from the act of political association) exist only if they are recognized and guaranteed by a Society, and that all the Rights that the City attaches to human nature and grants to aliens are artificial. Controlling immigration is therefore in no way, on the part of a society, a violation of the *natural* and *fundamental* right that people would have to move freely and settle where they want because this right is only an invention, it does not exist, at least it cannot exist without Society's approval. Moreover, the latter is not required to recognize it to all people, but only to those whom it pleases to welcome. In this respect, it does not violate the Principle of Equality, because if this Principle must prevail among Citizens, who must indeed be free to move within their City, and even to leave it, if they are allowed to enter elsewhere, which then no longer depends on the City, it does not apply to foreigners. Finally, it is difficult to see how managing immigration as anything else would undermine the foundations of democracy (says Danièle Lochak, *Bons étrangers, mauvais clandestins – Histoires d'immigration – Manières de voir – Le Monde diplomatique* - March/April 2002, quoted by Maxime Tandonnet, *Migrations, La nouvelle vague*, p. 65). It is clear,

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illegal immigrants will no longer be able to rely on the future exploitation of their victims to make a profit. Undeclared work will no longer be possible, since companies will have no economic interest in employing illegal immigrants (traffickers and employers of illegal immigrants will also be considered as slavers liable to life imprisonment), who, since they cannot be paid, will themselves have no interest in working for them. The City will therefore not be a destination for foreigners wishing to earn or extort money for possible return home or to send it to their families. Conversely, immigration will no longer be encouraged under false pretexts such as a lower birth rate, pensions to be paid (158), jobs to be filled (159), etc. The City will rely above all on its strengths ; it will

though, that there is nothing more anti-democratic than the denial of the sovereignty of nations, the contempt for Peoples, their existence, their will, and the violation of their laws.

(158) The decline in the birth rate implies a decrease in the population and its aging. And then what ? In addition to the fact that France's fertility rate is the highest in Europe (1.9 children per woman, assuming that immigrant women are not included in the calculation of this figure), that France, therefore, has little to worry about from this point of view, since the renewal of its population is almost assured, even without foreign contribution, how would a decline and ageing of its population be a problem ? France had 25 or 26 million inhabitants in 1789 ; it now has nearly 65 million. After Germany (82 million inhabitants), it is the most populous country in Europe (England, 50 million ; Italy, 59.2 million ; Spain, 45 million). It could therefore easily bear a decline of a few tens of millions of inhabitants. This would only be better for the environment (national and international), as the growing consumer population puts intolerable pressure on it. Moreover, and the figures show it, it is not the size of a country's population that determines its power, but its activity. (Note that France's density is currently 93.59 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup>, while it is only 31.15 inhabitants/km<sup>2</sup> in the U. S. A.) So why worry about a small decline in the French population and make it an argument in favor of immigration ? Could it be because the population is aging and the decline in the number of working people is ultimately compromising pension payments ? But the City will effortlessly ensure, without financial juggling, the retirement, that is, the rights, of its Citizens. It will not need to rely on immigrants who, for the most part, do not work, receive all possible social benefits and are aging like everyone else. Could it be because of a lack of workforce, to fill the difficult and poorly paid jobs that the French are abandoning ? But the City will make these jobs less painful and reward them on an equal footing with others ; it will find in its midst Citizens to occupy them. The City will put (back) to work the 3 million unemployed and the millions of employees who are currently only busy making money. Finally, let us not forget that progress makes it possible and will increasingly make it possible to replace people with machines and that the City will therefore still have this solution in the event of a shortage of workforce.

(159) Immigration involves two main actors : the country of departure and the country of arrival. It occurs when the former does not offer a future to its nationals and is unable to retain them (or even encourages them to leave) and when the

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latter has attractive living conditions and believes it needs immigrants or is unable to oppose their arrival. In the end, the latter, the country of arrival, is the only one responsible for the immigration it chooses or undergoes, because if it did not need immigrants, if it could, therefore, refuse all immigration and hunted illegal immigrants in an inflexible and obvious manner, it would no longer be a destination. The first question is therefore whether a country, such as France, needs immigrants. We saw in the previous note that this need, regarding birth rates or pensions, is a false problem. As for the jobs to be filled, Maxime Tandonnet explains in *Migrations, the new wave*, that the professions occupied by immigrants « correspond to tasks that nationals dislike for various reasons : harsh working conditions, low wages, image perceived as degrading. [...] Services to individuals, including domestic work (domestic help, childcare, eldercare), hotels and restaurants, are at the forefront of sectors using foreign labor. In the short term, in the absence of a political or employer's will to upgrade these trades, the use of foreign workers is a condition of survival for many companies. » (L'Harmattan, Paris, 2003, p. 37-38) All the reasons that make immigration to France « necessary » today will, therefore, disappear in the city. The French will then do, as they have always done, the work that, for the reasons explained, they are currently neglecting. (Let us note in passing the hypocrisy of the « immigrationist » discourse, which is intended to be generous and humanist, whereas it is less a question of responding to immigrants' wishes than of solving French problems at their expense.) Let us not forget that the decline or even cessation of immigration would inevitably be accompanied by a decline in needs in areas such as medical and construction, for which France uses immigrant workers. When we know that at least three-quarters of immigrants arrive in the context of family reunification and do not work even though they are entitled to all social services ; when we know that immigrants, legal and illegal combined, represent about 300 000 people each year (equivalent to the agglomeration of Montpellier) who need to be housed while France already lacks housing for its current population, there is no need for sophisticated calculations to understand that immigration itself creates the need for immigrants, that they create more needs than they satisfy, that they bring less to France than they cost it, in short, that resorting to immigration, for ease of use, is like taking a step forward and two steps back. Again, we have only mentioned the so-called benefits of immigration. But what about its disadvantages ? As more and more immigrants arrive, it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to integrate and be accepted. Their children are frustrated, failing at school and prone to petty crime. The areas they occupy are deserted by the French, merchants, public services and even the wealthiest or most educated immigrants. Accepting to be poorly paid, they lower salaries and working conditions, so that the French no longer want to do the jobs that now seem to be reserved for them. The huge cost they represent in terms of social and other benefits is recovered by the State in the form of various taxes and levies (the link with immigration does not appear), resulting in high prices, heavy burdens and relatively low incomes (for Europe). The part of the budget that the State devotes to them cannot be effectively used elsewhere. They exempt or prevent the State and companies from getting to the root of the problems, from making reforms or from adopting solutions that would allow the country to no longer need them. Through their massive presence and morals, they undermine national identity. All this creates a social and economic climate from which the French have had enough and which many are beginning to flee. The emigration of young French people, who are dynamic if not graduate, is another taboo. It would

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draw on the national genius to solve its problems instead of calling immigrants to the rescue like putting a plaster on a wooden leg, throwing oil on a fire or dressing Paul by undressing Peter.

Cults : the City will be a secular Republic and will not recognize any religion or « supernatural » truth. It will therefore not consider as a participation the service of any cult. But, unlike the monetary system in which the faithful can finance their worship and its ministers, the latter will be obliged to participate in the life of the City in a way that is recognized as being themselves Citizens. However, municipalities may reserve for believers jobs indirectly related to their worship (supervision of places of prayer, maintenance, management, etc.), which will enable them, once their task is accomplished or in the context of their Labor, to carry out their religious service.

Sex work : A citizen is an individual who participates in the life of the city in a form recognized by it. However, there is no reason, if not moralizing reasons, why the City, whose laws must be based only on the Principles of the Social Order, should not recognize as professions activities having a more or less direct relationship with sex, as long as they satisfy a consequent Demand and the persons who exercise them do so freely and in respect of the Rights of Others. These particular activities will, therefore, be subject to general laws concerning companies, which, it should be recalled, will have minimum results to achieve (in terms of customers) depending on the number of their employees.

It remains to be seen whether there will still be people in the City of Citizens who would like to pursue these professional activities. Why not ? Everyone has different tastes. On the other hand, the City will have no mercy for the sinister individuals (pimps) who force non-consenting people to undergo sexual acts, which, frankly, will no longer make sense in a non-monetary system (if not outside the professional context, which will then be considered a crime).

The marginalized : What will happen to individuals who do not want to be Citizens ? Will they be driven out, exterminated by the

be interesting to know whether the skilled immigrants used by France compensate its emigrants, whether it would still need the former if it could retain the latter.

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City ? The answer to these questions is contained in three articles of the Declaration of Duties and Rights of People, the Citizen and the City : « Unless he/she is a Citizen, every person has the right, within the limits of the City's possibilities, to a portion of land suitable to ensure his/her existence. (Art. X) Every able-bodied person must provide for his own needs by exploiting his potential. Every individual is the owner of everything he or she produces for himself or herself from property recognized as his or her own and whose ownership is not in dispute. (Art. III) » In other words, individuals born on the territory of the City (because this cannot concern immigrants) will have the right not to be Citizens but will have the Duty to be self-sufficient and, to this end, the City will grant them a portion of land to provide for their own needs. Things will be clear. They will not want to be Citizens ; they will not be ; the City will owe them nothing more than respect for the Rights it has granted them.

It is nevertheless difficult to see why individuals would refuse to be part of a Society that will not oppress them and that will provide them with far more than anything they could achieve through strenuous efforts. It is also difficult to see why individuals would form communities within the City, knowing that these communities would inevitably be egalitarian (because no one would voluntarily integrate them if they were unequal), which, far from being a rejection of the City, would be poor copies thereof.

Those who do not wish to be Citizens will, however, have another alternative according to Article XI, which states that « every person has the right to choose his City, provided that the said City accepts to receive the said person and that he is worthy by his acts to be a part of it. » In other words, they will be allowed to go into exile abroad. The City will not put any obstacles in their way, but neither will it provide them with any help once they have left it.

The challenges ahead : After centuries of oppression, divisions, and waste of energy, the City will finally enjoy social peace. Citizens will no longer have to make any effort to conquer their Rights ; they will enjoy them. But the world will not stop turning. Citizens will have new challenges to face, new struggles to fight, from the cleanliness of cities to the conquest of space (a condition for terrestrial unity), including the preservation of heritage, the maintenance of forests, the protection of the environment, the

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fight against all waste, the intensification of recycling, the development of sustainable energies, cooperation with the countries of the South (160), the discovery of modes of transport

(160) Immigration is a scourge, not only for the host countries but also for the countries that supply it. When the latter is developing, which is generally the case, the departure of a significant proportion of their youth deprives them of the human resources that their economy needs or could need. When highly qualified people emigrate, trained at their own expense, the loss is immeasurable. Not only are they losing skilled people no country needs more than they do, but these poor countries have spent money that they could have usefully used elsewhere in vain. Emigration, therefore, compromises their development if it does not ruin all their efforts. They are left in a situation that arouses the desire of their inhabitants to emigrate. From then on, between those who have left and those who only dream of leaving, there are no longer enough people willing and able to change things locally, be it economically, politically, religiously, demographically, etc. Encouraging emigration to the West is thus tantamount to maintaining the situation in these countries, to sacrificing entire peoples to a few individuals. Where is humanity then ? It is, as always, in truth, in well-understood patriotism, in love for one's country and in the desire that all people be happy in their homeland. Never will countries in difficulty receive the necessary aid for their development as long as Western countries welcome their nationals, whether for economic reasons or in the name of good feelings (individualistic or universalist). (Cameroonian Emile Bomba makes the same point : he recognizes the right of each country to manage immigration, he is sorry about the illegal emigration of his fellow Citizens and castigates self-righteous anti-racist Western organizations which, not satisfied with betraying their homelands, undermine African efforts to rescue theirs.) For the West to help them properly, Western countries must therefore begin by admitting that not all people are destined to settle in their countries, that emigrating by force is a tragedy (because no one leaves their homeland cheerfully, but it is necessary to be a patriot to understand it), that immigrants often live in precarious material conditions, terrible and sometimes close to slavery, that racial and cultural differences between them and indigenous people are, on both sides, sources of misunderstanding, unease, and rejection. They must then acknowledge that immigration (in all its forms) has been massive over the past forty years and that the lack of real management in this area has allowed catastrophic, if not explosive, situations to develop, situations that new arrivals amplify and prevent from being resolved, in short, they must acknowledge that they have reached saturation point and that pursuing this path is neither to the liking of local populations nor the interest of immigrants already present. Too much immigration hurts immigrants. Finally, they must act, limit immigration as much as possible, fight illegal immigration (by severely punishing smugglers and employers and systematically sending illegal immigrants home), implement courageous and effective policies of assimilation (of which patriotism is one of the main pillars) and learn to do without immigrants from now on. But, at the same time, they must have the objective of restoring hope and confidence to foreigners, so that immigrants want to return home and potential candidates for emigration remain there. They must help marginalized populations to regain their pride by inviting them to an exciting enterprise, making them the main architects of their development and its first beneficiaries. With this in mind, the City will cancel the debt that poor countries owe to it. It will mobilize immigrants from all walks of life on its soil by creating, for

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other than mechanical, etc. The novelty will be less in the nature of these challenges and struggles than in the fact that the City and

each « community », an organization composed half of elected representatives (by universal suffrage), the other half of persons appointed by them. These bodies, which will be rallying points for immigrants, will have the task of identifying, by all means, the problems of their country of origin, reflecting on the large and small solutions to be provided, implementing them, encouraging and supporting private initiatives, business start-ups and galvanizing their compatriots. Immigrants will have to provide the bulk of the staff. Illegal immigrants, if any, will be grouped to be involved in the reflection work before being sent back to their country as part of the projects developed. French Citizens performing a National Humanitarian Service will constitute parallel reflection and action units that can work in collaboration with these organizations but whose main function will be to organize the deployment of their personnel, its recovery, possibly its protection, to support the actions undertaken and to ensure their follow-up. However, it should be noted that French Citizens sent on missions abroad, with the agreement or at the request of local governments, will have to land, so to speak, with their hands in their pockets and everything in their heads. Their aim will not be to import purely Western technologies and equipment (which create dependence on the West), but to provide indigenous peoples with knowledge, dynamism and discipline so that they learn to (organize themselves to) make the most of their human and natural resources and lay the essential foundations for economic and social progress. The objective will not be to raise these countries suddenly to the Western level (« Paris was not built in a day. »), but to make significant improvements from their point of view in all areas, so that they are now able to evolve by themselves, so that they want to, and so that prospects finally open up for their youth. half of elected representatives (by universal suffrage), the other half of persons appointed by them. These bodies, which will be rallying points for immigrants, will have the task of identifying by all means the problems of their country of origin, reflecting on the large and small solutions to be provided, implementing them, encouraging and supporting private initiatives, business start-ups and galvanizing their compatriots. Immigrants will have to provide the bulk of the staff. Illegal immigrants, if any, will be grouped together to be involved in the reflection work before being sent back to their country as part of the projects developed. French Citizens performing a National Humanitarian Service will constitute parallel reflection and action units that can work in collaboration with these organizations but whose main function will be to organize the deployment of their personnel, its recovery, possibly its protection, to support the actions undertaken and to ensure their follow-up. However, it should be noted that French Citizens sent on missions abroad, with the agreement or at the request of local governments, will have to land, so to speak, with their hands in their pockets and everything in their heads. Their aim will not be to import purely Western technologies and equipment (which create dependence on the West), but to provide indigenous peoples with knowledge, dynamism and discipline so that they learn to (organize themselves to) make the most of their human and natural resources and lay the essential foundations for economic and social progress. The objective will not be to raise these countries suddenly to the Western level (« Paris was not built in a day. »), but to make significant improvements from their point of view in all areas, so that they are now able to evolve by themselves, so that they want to, and so that future prospects finally open up for their youth.



## CONCLUSION

the Citizens will finally have the opportunity to successfully invest all their forces in it.

The meaning of existence : By establishing Equality and liberating People from Money, the City will have achieved the quest (even unconscious) of all past generations. What will be the quest for future generations ? After the social revolution that will have solved the problems external to humankind, what will remain to be accomplished for the latter if not an internal, not to say spiritual, revolution ?

Citizens will daily be in search of friendship, love, adventure, pleasure, etc. But, fulfilled on the material level, freed from small passions, they will finally be able to turn their thoughts massively towards more noble, higher and still inconceivable objects. They will no longer care about Having ; they will think about Being. The watchword will no longer be *enrichment*, but *fulfillment*.

Here is how things, forced to adapt, will undoubtedly evolve in Equality, around the civic Card, how the current problems will solve themselves in the City or how it will be able to solve them. However, perfection is not of this world. The City will have its problems, but it will also have more room for maneuver than capitalism, a prisoner of Money, whose problems are often the result of Money itself. It will be up to the Citizens, who will all be responsible for solving them or mitigating their effects ; it will no longer be a question of will, which will no longer be annihilated by differences between particular interests and the general interest or hindered by artificial budget issues (161). As for natural problems (differences, handicaps, illnesses, loneliness, separations, deaths, existential questions, etc.), independent of the City, the Citizens will not be able to blame the latter and will be grateful to it for not overwhelming them further and even for easing their pain.

As idyllic as this picture may seem, is it nevertheless a fantasy ? Are the causes of inequality so mysterious, and the

(161) The difficulties that the City will have to face may seem countless and insurmountable to isolated individuals. But who can conceive the potential of millions of men and women ? Individuals are weak, but their union generates an immeasurable force, and it is in this collective force, both the sum and the combination of individual forces, that we must blindly place our trust.

## CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY

effects of Equality so unpredictable? Are all dreams inaccessible? Are Justice and Equality destined to remain pious wishes? No! But they can only progress if people fight for them instead of complaining and resigning themselves. Thus, our predecessors, inspired by Equality, defeated an eight-century-old monarchy and founded the First Republic (1792), adopted universal suffrage (1792), abolished privileges (1793), decreed free and compulsory schooling (1793), abolished slavery (1794), etc. These measures were just as revolutionary in their time as the ambition today to abolish currency, destroy Money and establish the reign of Equality in practice. But they preferred Reason to habits, Principles to prejudice. History, despite setbacks, has finally proved them right against those who called them demagogues and convinced them of selfishness, opportunism, pusillanimity, stupidity, treason, and crime. The Patricians will meet on their way the same kind of fierce detractors with the same kind of arguments in their mouths. But their successes will be temporary like lies, and their shame, immortal like Truth. For what will their fears, sophisms, and intrigues be worth against the Principles and the courage of the Patricians? What will they be able to do against the force of things that pushes imperceptibly but irresistibly towards the City, towards Equality?

Every day, capitalism digs Money's grave as well as his own a little more. There will come a time when switching from credit Cards to civic Cards will be a formality. There will even come a time when the escapades of capitalism will make this revolutionary evolution a necessity.

But capitalism does not only pave the way for a new means of exchange based on other Principles. In all areas, current developments are moving towards the City. For its reasons, capitalism is gradually privatizing public companies and services, rejecting the notion of guaranteed jobs for life and standardizing workers' status. However, in the City, companies will neither be public nor private but both - insofar as they will serve the City while managing their efforts - and it will be much easier for private companies and precarious workers to accept these new conditions close to the old ones in some ways than for public companies and civil servants to renounce their specificity and their notorious *social benefits*. Capitalism also tends to concentrate banking activity in the hands of a single bank, which,

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while avoiding the City having to close many banking institutions itself, will facilitate both the creation of Card Commissions and that of National Banks, which will all find the infrastructure they will need ready.

On the political level, we have been talking for some time about *participatory democracy*, which is a revealing tautology of two things : the first, that *representative democracy* is not a true democracy (and the fact that there are worse regimes does not prevent us from recognizing the flaws of that one) ; the second, that « Citizens » (the French) aspire and will aspire more and more to be consulted or to take part in the decisions that concern them. Municipalities and Commissions will be the result of these legitimate aspirations. A candidate in the 2007 presidential election also spoke of a *citizen jury*, an idea that could not be more vague at the time, but which, in the City, will be implemented by the Court of Public Opinion. All the candidates in the said election, aware of the damage to social cohesion caused by the arbitrary abolition of military service in 1995, also proposed the creation of a *national service*, voluntary according to some, compulsory according to others. The current confusion between Citizenship and Nationality prevents the conception of a voluntary national service which would be both the « material » condition for acquiring the latter and the opportunity for civic communion alone capable of creating a « mystical » link between the members of the Nation. It is nevertheless likely that the City will not have to restore the national service itself, which is so important from its point of view. More generally, words such as citizenship and duty are back in fashion ; we even dare to talk about patriotism again. Everything happens as if Civism was in the making in people's minds.

There remains the question of Europe. It is not an obstacle to the City, at most an inconvenience. In 2005, the NO of the French and Dutch peoples to the draft European Constitution gave it its first blow. The ratification, on 14 February 2008, of the new-old project by parliament, meaning in disregard of the Peoples and democracy, far from having consolidated it (162), deprived it of all legitimacy. And, as if that were not enough, the Irish People, the only ones who were able to express themselves on this occasion,

(162) « The best fortress in the world is the affection of the population. » Machiavelli, The Prince.

## CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY

rejected the project in June 2008, thus thwarting the small tricks of the big hustlers. But, as a new denial of democracy, Europe forced it to vote again and intimidation got the better of it in June 2009. How this capital-liberal construction will collapse for good, the future will tell us. But one thing is certain : this Europe, prostrated before Mony and directed behind the scenes, will never give birth to Democracy, Equality, and, for the City to be born in a European country, it will have to leave it if it still exists, something that nothing and no one can prevent it from doing. More broadly, it is imperative to understand that wanting to build the Earth or even Europe before the City (France), in other words, before knowing how to move, at the level of existing nations, from a cluster of individuals to a Society worthy of the name, means wanting to run before being able to walk. Universalism is a wild rush forward on the part of those who ignore Mony and misunderstand the Principles of the social order, and globalism is a trap set for the People by those who idolize the former and despise the latter. Both are carried by individualists who, under different pretexts, walk consciously or unconsciously towards the same goal.

In any case, everything seems to indicate that France is the country where this Revolution will take place. The smart card system is French, Civism is a theory of French origin and no People can be better prepared to accomplish this Revolution than the French People who has already made a great step in that direction and is in a position to learn the lessons from it. It knows from experience that there is no revolution without revolution and that a regime is held by the head ; it can understand that the Mony aristocracy that succeeded the kings' aristocracy will not disappear, and with it inequality, as long as Mony lives. It has all the elements on the table.

So, French, do not wait until the country and the planet are in danger to rediscover the sublime spirit of the volunteers of 1792, the Communards, the Resistance fighters and all the patriots, all the republicans who fought, suffered and sometimes died for France to be free and proud, great and just. These heroes exhort us from the bottom of their tombs to complete their work. May the sacred fire that animated them (163) consume us in turn. May our

(163) On June 18, 1940, General De Gaulle, alone, but conscious of now embodying eternal France, launched from London his famous appeal for resistance against the Nazi occupier. Did he know and who knows that a century and a half earlier, on June 18, 1793, the Montagnards Convention, embodying the

## CONCLUSION

courage respond to their sacrifices. May the doubts that inhabit us be erased in front of the feeling of the Duty to be fulfilled ? For it is up to us, to our generation, to annihilate Money, the secular enemy of humankind, and to establish Equality, the goal of any Revolution. We can do it and we must. It is up to us to conclude the History of Humankind and write the first chapter of the era of Humanity. We can either disappear into the opprobrium that pursues cowards, or we can crown ourselves with an imperishable and unmatched glory for having done what no generation before ours has only imagined and for which all future generations will be eternally grateful to us.

No ! The Revolution that began two centuries ago is not yet over. The French will know how to be worthy of the name they bear. They will confirm that France's place is at the forefront of nations in the fight for Equality. They will show the world once again that nothing is impossible for them and that they are not low on audacity.

**MONEY is a TYRAN !  
EQUALITY or DEATH !**

**Long live the REPUBLIC !  
Long live FRANCE !**

Republic at war against all European monarchies, had adopted the following principle : « *The French people will not make peace with an enemy occupying their territory* », and to a skeptical or defeatist deputy who had called the Montagnards in these terms : « *Did you make a treaty with victory ?* », to which they replied : « *We made one with death* » ?



## **APPENDIX**

### **PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO**





# **PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO**

## **Civism's postulates**

While Mony is at the heart of our sick « Societies », no one accepts the reality that it is the poison that gnaws at them ; no one dares to denounce it as the secular enemy of Humanity. These times of blindness and cowardice are over ; the time has come for Truth and Revolution.

Therefore, the Patricians have resolved to expose the concepts that drive them to act in the present and the Principles of the City that they want to establish in the future. This Manifesto announces to people that the Revolution has begun in their minds, and to Mony that its reign is coming to an end.

<b>I. POSTULATES OF THE POLITICAL ASSOCIATION</b>
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**ART. 1** - A political association is made up of individuals freely united to escape the state of Nature and to increase their chances of survival by combining their forces.

**ART. 2** - The instinct of self-preservation is at the origin of the political association, also called Society or City.

**ART. 3** - The primary purpose of any Society is to ensure the safety of its members, called Citizens, to the best of its ability. SECURITY is the first fundamental Citizen's Right.

**ART. 4** - A Citizen's Security does not depend on his ability to defend himself but on the ability of his fellow Citizens to defend him. It is because Citizens protect each other that Security exists as a Right and that each of them deserves and enjoys it. The first Duty of the Citizen is therefore to defend his fellow Citizens.

**ART. 5** - A Citizen must be more secure in society than in the state of Nature, at least as much, never less. When a Citizen's

## **CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX**

Rights are threatened without the Society intervening or being able to intervene, the Citizen may defend them himself by all the means at his disposal and whatever the consequences may be. When a Citizen lacks the social guarantee, he cannot have less freedom than if he were in the state of Nature.

**ART. 6** - To enjoy the Security that the Society must guarantee to its members, it is necessary first to be part of it, to be allowed to integrate it, and then to do all that it requires of each Citizen in order not to be excluded from it.

**ART. 7** - No one freely joins an association that demands more from him than from other members. Partners may not demand less from a newcomer than they require from themselves. Members of an association cannot guarantee any of them the benefits they are deprived of. A political association necessarily imposes the same Duties on all its Citizens and inevitably guarantees the same Rights to everyone.

**ART. 8** - There are Rights only in Society, only between individuals with Duties, the same Duties, towards each other, thus guaranteeing each other the same Rights. There is only a Society in the Equality of Citizens in Duties and Rights.

**ART. 9** - EQUALITY is the fundamental principle of political association and social order.

**ART. 10** - The fulfillment of a Duty does not in itself generate any Rights. All Rights are attached to Citizenship, which is obtained and maintained by the fulfillment of all the Citizen's Duties.

**ART. 11** - Since people are forced by their sociable nature to live together, Society must encourage the desire to be part of it by removing from the Citizens any desire to leave it and by giving them all the reasons to remain within its walls.

**ART. 12** - The City being a free association, Citizens are free in theory to leave it and must be free while belonging to it.

**ART. 13** - FREEDOM, as a fundamental Right, consists for a Citizen to have the same Rights as his fellow Citizens, so that the

## PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO

interest of each one is that the freedoms of others, which he will enjoy, are as extensive as possible, while being limited by the respect for the Rights of others.

**ART. 14** - The fundamentals Duties and Rights of Citizens are divided into Indirect Duties and Rights. The nature and number of the indirect Duties and Rights of Citizens reflect the capacities of the species and the development of the Society.

**ART. 15** - Any Citizen who fails to fulfill his Duties usurps Rights. Any Citizen who violates the Rights of another Citizen is an oppressor. Usurpers and oppressors are no longer Citizens ; they are enemies.

**ART. 16** - Inequality in Rights dissolves the political association. There is no association between a slave and his master.

**ART. 17** - Inequality between individuals of the same « Society » is the source of all evils.

**ART. 18** - Inequality is anarchy. Equality is order.

### II. CITY, CITIZENSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTRACT

**ART. 19** - The City is all the Citizens who compose it.

**ART. 20** - The role of the City is not to make people happy, but to maintain Equality, in other words, to guarantee to its Citizens the enjoyment of the same Rights so that they are, as individuals, as happy as possible and free to seek their well-being.

**ART. 21** - EQUALITY is the Fundamental Principle of the City. The principle of EQUITY, which is based on the notion of value, and therefore on arbitrariness, imposes iniquity and is a capitalist, individualistic, anti-egalitarian and therefore anti-social subterfuge.

**ART. 22** - Is and shall remain a Citizen any individual recognized as such by the City, any individual who has fulfilled his Duties towards the City and therefore enjoys all the Citizen's Rights, any individual who adheres to the Social Contract.

## **CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX**

**ART. 23** - The union of Citizens is based on a tacit or official agreement : the Social Contract. This Agreement is the same for all Citizens. By establishing the Citizens' Duties and Rights, it imposes on all Citizens the same Duties towards the City and recognizes the same Rights in the City for everyone.

**ART. 24** - There can only be one Social Contract per Society. There is no half Citizenship. Citizens must enjoy the same Rights, which can only be guaranteed if all Citizens have the same Duties towards each other. An individual cannot be linked to others in one way without the others being linked to him in the same way.

**ART. 25** - The clauses of the Social Contract result from the natural laws of the political association. Social Contracts vary from one City to another only in terms of form.

**ART. 26** - As it is easy to ignore and violate what is tacit, the City must adopt an official Social Contract so that each Citizen knows what it expects from him and all its fellow Citizens, and what he can and must demand from it in return.

**ART. 27** - Without a Social Contract, no City, no Equality ; outside Equality, no Society, no Citizens, no Freedom, No Duties, no Rights, no Republic, no Democracy, etc.

**ART. 28** - Whoever fulfills all his Duties towards the City, is a Citizen and must be equal in Rights to his fellow Citizens.

**ART. 29** - Whoever fails to fulfill one of his Duties risks the loss of all his Rights, without being able to claim to be oppressed.

**ART. 30** - According to the natural laws of the political association and the Social Contract, the fundamental Duties of the Citizen are : to defend the City, to be in solidarity with its fellow Citizens, to respect the Rights of others and to participate in the life of the City (according to what it considers as a participation).

**ART. 31** - The most common, or at least the most obvious, form of participation in the life of the City is Labor. All Labor recognized by the City makes the person who performs it a full Citizen.

## **PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO**

**ART. 32** - Labor is the form of participation in the life of the City which consists in putting the fruit of its efforts on the market, in return for the status and Rights of the Citizen.

**ART. 33** - Labor is to the Citizen in the City what efforts to survive are to man alone in nature. The City is not a refuge for the lazy ; it facilitates a natural duty, but in no way exempts able-bodied individuals from it.

**ART. 34** - Anyone who does not want to work for the City has no right to anything in the City. He does not want to be a Citizen : he is not.

**ART. 35** - Higher education being necessary to Work later is itself Labor. Students are full Citizens.

**ART. 36** - The City is a mother who must protect all her children, whether they are devoted, temporarily unable to work or unfortunately disabled.

**ART. 37** - After a period spent Working, equal for all, Workers must be able to be free to stop, while remaining full-fledged Citizens.

**ART. 38** - According to the natural laws of political association and the Social Contract, the fundamental Rights of the Citizen are SECURITY and FREEDOM, which are reflected in the Right to enjoy all the benefits of the City.

**ART. 39** - FREEDOM is the set of indirect freedoms or Rights recognized by the City to even one Citizen and must, therefore, be recognized to all Citizens. Freedoms are not FREEDOM. It is not enough for individuals to enjoy some identical freedoms for this to make them truly equal and free Citizens.

**ART. 40** - A Right is naturally limited by the wishes of the Citizen who exercises or enjoys it, by the exercise or enjoyment by his fellow Citizens of this same Right, by the real possibilities to exercise it and possibly by the law, equal for all. Any other boundary is artificial, arbitrary and a source of oppression.

## **CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX**

**ART. 41** - The Citizens' Rights depend on the City in which they live, not on the company through which they fulfill their Labor Duty towards the City.

**ART. 42** - A Citizen cannot be required to Work for the City and be penalized by it for his professional specialization.

**ART. 43** - No one is irreplaceable. There is no sub-trade. All Workers are complementary. No position justifies any superiority in Rights. The Workers' complementary requires their equal rights as Citizens.

**ART. 44** - Anyone who believes that through his Labor he deserves more Rights than his Citizens, forgets that he is what he is thanks to the City, that he Works in and for the City, that only the City can recognize and guarantee his Rights, that the City is all his Citizens, and that there are Rights only in EQUALITY. Whoever wants to live in the City must sacrifice his claims as an individual to his Rights as a Citizen.

**ART. 45** - The City must honor the virtues of individuals without violating the Citizens' Rights, in other words, Equality. Only laurels should crown the Virtues. To claim otherwise is already to be unworthy of it. Personal merit should only be rewarded through personal satisfaction and public recognition.

**ART. 46** - Each Citizen must earn his or her Rights alone with the City. No one can enjoy the Rights deserved by another. Rights are neither inherited nor transferable, nor cumulative, nor playable or retractable, etc.

**ART. 47** - The benefits of the City are the result of the Citizens' participation. The fruits of Labor are generally put on the market. To enjoy all the City's benefits, Citizens must not only have access to the market but also have an equal Right of access.

**ART. 48** - The Right to access the market, being in a way the counterpart of the Duty to participate in the life of the City, belongs only to those to whom the City recognizes the status of Citizen and only concerns the Labor products present on the market.

## PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO

**ART. 49** - Although equality in property is neither possible, even in Equality, nor desirable in absolute terms, too great a disparity in property between fellow Citizens cannot result from the free expression of their tastes ; it reveals a state of inequality in Rights, therefore a state of oppression.

**ART. 50** - Oppression is an intermediate state between the state of Nature, from which people want to escape, and that of Society, towards which they are moving. There is oppression, in one way or another, when « Citizens » are unequal in their Rights.

**ART. 51** - The oppressed are in a power struggle with their oppressors, not in a legal relationship. They can legitimately shake their yoke and even bring them down if they have the opportunity. Persistent oppression only testifies to the power of oppressors and the temporary inability of the oppressed to liberate themselves.

### III. MONY

**ART. 52** - Mony is the belief that the notion of (market) value is necessary to exchange.

**ART. 53** - The initially unavoidable practice of bartering, consisting in exchanging between individuals and putting objects on an equivalence scale, has led people to conceive the notion of market value and to believe it is essential to trade. Evolution then led people to adopt the currency that embodies Mony, perpetuates a mode of individualistic exchange and whose use inculcates monetary prejudices in all generations.

**ART. 54** - Since it is based on the notion of value, currency inevitably introduces into the « City » the subjective, the relative, the arbitrary, the particular interest, the difference in price between things, between producers, between people and finally the inequality in rights between « Citizens ».

**ART. 55** - Under Mony, securities are embodied in objects or monetary units that materialize and give the right of access to the market on their own. Since monetary units are intended to circulate and cannot be equally distributed through the game of

## CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX

values, they allow some to deprive others of their rights.

**ART. 56** - A price is the consequence of a price chain of which it is itself only a link unless it is arbitrarily fixed. Prices have nothing to do with the so-called value of things ; it is people who, in the final analysis, have a price, are paid and need currency to pay each other.

**ART. 57** - Money would have no reason to exist if Labor, instead of being paid with units, conferred Citizenship, therefore the Rights of the Citizen including the Right to access the market, because then things would have no cost or price and people would not need currency. It is this need for self-sustaining currency that prevents people from conceiving another form of « salary » and locks them into the monetary logic.

**ART. 58** - Anything that is justified by Money is unjustifiable otherwise and is in no way justified from a social point of view. Anything that makes financial sense is socially absurd.

**ART. 59** - The nature of monetary units is so irrelevant that they are on the way to being as virtual and imaginary as the very notion of value. A poor man will soon no longer be separated from a rich man by anything but Money, which only exists in their minds.

**ART. 60** - Money is a belief in which Man is physically trapped. It exists only through Man, but Man can exist without him.

**ART. 61** - Money can't buy happiness, but it certainly can make people miserable.

**ART. 62** - Only Money and currency, creating or perpetuating an unequal context, make it possible to abuse hierarchical power or to give power without any other merit than fortune.

**ART. 63** - The power of the rich lies less in their person than in their wealth which, by endowing them with extended rights, confers on them forces infinitely superior to their natural forces.

**ART. 64** - There will always be rich and poor people under Money. A rich person is not and will never be equal in Rights with a poor



## PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO

person. Wealth and poverty, exploitation and corruption, oppression and inequality are inherent in Money.

**ART. 65** - Money is a tyrant. Currency is the instrument of his tyranny. Money is Man's greatest enemy before Man himself.

**ART. 66** - Anyone who has read these lines and still neglects the role of Money or justifies its existence is an accomplice to inequality, exploitation and capitalist oppression ; he is a capitalist himself.

### IV. ACCESS RIGHT AND CIVIC CARD

**ART. 67** - A means of exchange is theoretically an intermediary between the Duties and the Rights of the Citizen, since it allows the latter to access the market after having participated in the life of the City ; but also between the Citizens themselves, since it allows them, through the goods they obtain from the market and the services from which they benefit, to exchange their Labor mutually.

**ART. 68** - The existence of a means of exchange implies, on the one hand, the complementarity and interdependence of Workers in particular and Citizens in general, and on the other hand, the inability of Citizens to provide for all their needs individually and the need for each of them to be able to access the market.

**ART. 69** - Insofar as most of the benefits of the City are the result of Labor and are found on the market, the means of exchange is a vital element for Citizens and the central parameter of the City. The nature of the medium of exchange - how to obtain it, how to use it, etc. - therefore depend on the nature of the relationships between Citizens and their mentality.

**ART. 70** - Since currency monopolizes the right of access to the market and cannot be equally distributed, it confers on « Citizens » an inevitably unequal right of access, an inequality that affects all other Rights and destroys the state of Rights, and thus the Society itself.

**ART. 71** - Citizens cannot be equal in Rights without also enjoying

## **CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX**

all the benefits of the City, without enjoying an equal Right of access to the market, in other words without having the same purchasing power, power without any other limits than the real possibilities of the market and the law.

**ART. 72** - Currency is a means of exchange among all possible means of exchange. It conveys only a conception of exchange, while a means of exchange worthy of the City must also convey a concept of Society.

**ART. 73** - A means of exchange is the most stable parameter of a Society ; it is its core. Nothing is more difficult than changing it. Once adopted, it shapes people in its image.

**ART. 74** - For Citizens to be and remain equal in Rights, for Rights to be protected from the whims of individuals, Rights, and Principles of the social order must be under the protection of a means of exchange.

**ART. 75** - Units limit purchasing power. The equality of the Right of access excludes the use of any form of units or rationing and implies the use of a means of exchange that confers on all Citizens a theoretically unlimited purchasing power.

**ART. 76** - The right to access the market and enjoy the benefits of the City must be attached to Citizenship itself, to being a Citizen, and not to depend on insignificant units.

**ART. 77** - The City's means of exchange will be a smart card that will use credit card technology, but which will be obtained from the City in return for a recognized participation and will essentially make it possible to verify the Citizenship of its holder. This card, called the civic Card, will give all Citizens an indefinite, theoretically unlimited and therefore equal purchasing power.

**ART. 78** - The civic Card is the natural evolution of the credit card which, as its use becomes exclusive, makes currency more and more virtual, introduces the idea that a card could be in itself a means of exchange, and digs Mony's grave.

**ART. 79** - When all Citizens have theoretically unlimited

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purchasing power, no one can monopolize production, deprive others of their Rights, enslave them or bribe them ; no one can sell himself or see his equals as masters.

**ART. 80** - Indigestion is caused by rarity ; moderation by opulence. For Humanity to be freed from materialistic obsessions, it must be possible for it to satisfy once and for all the frustrations that Mony and its limits create in it, and for it to no longer feel the inconvenience.

**ART. 81** - When EQUALITY is unalterable, tyranny is powerless to be reborn and Virtue is the norm.

**ART. 82** - To definitively establish EQUALITY and consequently to destroy any seed of tyranny is the double goal of the civic Card on which the revolution advocated by the Patricians is based. This Card, by substituting itself for the currency, will effectively destroy Mony and prevent it from resurrecting.

### V. CAPITALISM, LIBERALISM, AND ECONOMIC DYNAMISM

**ART. 83** - Capitalism is a system governed essentially by the laws of Mony without which there is no possible capitalism.

**ART. 84** - Mony is the heart of capitalism. In the age of credit cards, introducing the civic Card will be a deadly surgical act for capitalism and painless for people.

**ART. 85** - Capitalism itself is in the process of setting up all the structures necessary for the establishment of a City.

**ART. 86** - Under Mony, the only alternative to capitalism is State capitalism. There is no EQUALITY and FREEDOM in either.

**ART. 87** - EQUALITY condemns capitalism ; FREEDOM demands liberalism. Liberalism without capitalism is the Revolution.

**ART. 88** - In a Society worthy of the name, nothing is nationalized, nothing is privatized : all Citizens serve the City.

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**ART. 89** - Working being a Duty to the City, all the fruits of Labor belong in the first place to the City before becoming the Citizens' property when they withdraw them from the market through the exercise of their Right of access.

**ART. 90** - The City that guarantees the Rights must also ensure that the Duties are fulfilled.

**ART. 91** - If the City does not have to plan the economy, it cannot nevertheless remain in ignorance of what is happening within it. It must have a Right of supervision on Labor to know who Works, therefore who is a Citizen. Denying this Right to the City means advocating, under any pretext whatsoever, anarchy, under any name whatsoever.

**ART. 92** - Insofar as the means of exchange makes it possible to benefit from the Labor of others, it can only be obtained by the Workers in return for a Labor for which the market is, rightly or wrongly, a claimant. Producing without selling is as bad as not having Worked. To acquire without offering anything on one's side is a theft. The minimum results required of Workers or companies by the City must, therefore, relate to sales, not production.

**ART. 93** - There is no more democratic control over companies than the law of the market, when Citizens are free and equal, since Workers, as consumers, indirectly impose themselves to Work to satisfy their appetites. As companies also have the legal Duty to satisfy Demand, and consumers the Right to complain about the Supply, then the market requires companies to ignore the results required by the City and produce following the wishes of Citizens.

**ART. 94** - Producing the cheapest possible to make the most profit is the source of the dynamism of the capitalist liberalism. Producing quality in quantity to satisfy a colossal and sophisticated demand is the source of a City's economic dynamism (egalitarian and liberal society).

**ART. 95** - When Demand is theoretically infinite, it is eternally superior to Supply : full employment is inevitable.

## PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO

### VI. EQUALITY AND REVOLUTION

**ART. 96** - EQUALITY is socially necessary, technically possible and historically imminent.

**ART. 97** - Technical and economic developments inevitably lead to changes in « rights » and political structures. As the rapid progress of the 20th century has not yet borne fruit, and as the gap between the potential of the « Society » and the conditions of the « Citizens » is greater than ever and unbearable, positive upheavals of an unprecedented scale are both inevitable and indispensable.

**ART. 98** - Outside primitive Societies, the necessary conditions for the establishment of EQUALITY are mass production capacities and information technology.

**ART. 99** - The only obstacles to EQUALITY today are human ignorance of the exact nature and role of Money, the unknown as to why and how to destroy it, the lack of resolution of those who know it, and time.

**ART. 100** - For Humanity, the Revolution is done. For the People, it is up to us to do it.

### VII. CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONALITY

**ART. 101** - The City, in the broad sense, is the entire population of Citizens ; the City, in the strict sense, the Nation, is the entire population of national Citizens.

**ART. 102** - Citizenship and Nationality are two distinct things : the first is an economic and vital choice, the second is a political and sentimental one. This distinction is essential at a time when people are more mobile than ever.

**ART. 103** - Fundamental rights are attached to Citizenship ; political rights are attached to Nationality.

**ART. 104** - Nationality confers special rights which are to be able to participate directly in the formation of laws, to be able to serve

## CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX

them within the framework of institutions and bodies specially responsible for their application, to be able to work in sensitive sectors and possibly to have the City's land at their disposal.

**ART. 105** - Any Citizen may obtain the Nationality related to a given City, provided that he/she meets the conditions it requires.

**ART. 106** - Nationality is preserved by fulfilling special duties that attest to the Citizen's loyalty to the City.

<b>VIII. THE LAND</b>
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**ART. 107** - Since the Earth is the asylum and property of mankind, the land, in theory, belongs to everyone in general and no one specific. In practice, and until Humanity forms a single City, this principle is only applicable at the level of existing Cities.

**ART. 108** - The City is the sole owner of its land. The means of exchange that allows Citizens to appropriate goods from production by removing them from the market does not give them any rights on the land. Only the City may entrust portions of its land under equal conditions for all Citizens and set by law.

**ART. 109** - If the occupants or operators of the land are considered as owners in the eyes of their fellow Citizens, they are not so for the City that has temporarily entrusted it to them in its interest or to access legitimate requests that do not conflict with the general interest.

**ART. 110** - Only National Citizens may, as far as possible, dispose of a portion of the City's land for private or public purposes. However, the City must guarantee cultivable land for people born and living in the country who do not wish to be Citizens.

**ART. 111** — By entrusting its land as a Work tool, the City, in return for the Citizen status and the Safety it ensures to the operator, requires it to produce a yield proportional to the area allocated or relating to the nature of the production and to place it on the market.

## PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO

### IX. LAW, GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY

**ART. 112** - Legitimacy prevails over any legality. Anything that proceeds from the Principles of political association, anything that tends to outlaw inequality between Citizens or to preserve their Rights, is legitimate. When two legitimacies are in conflict, the one that strives for the good of the greatest number takes precedence. The salvation of the Fatherland is the supreme law.

**ART. 113** - Sovereignty belongs exclusively to the People, i. e. to the national Citizens in body, in other words to the Nation.

**ART. 114** - The elected representatives of the People are at the service of the People. They are not the interpreters of its will, but its instruments.

**ART. 115** - The clearly expressed will of the People is the only basis for the legitimacy of the powers exercised and the decisions taken in their name.

**ART. 116** - Any rule accepted by the People, i. e. by the majority of national Citizens, is a law. Any rule that has not been ratified by the People has from law only the name.

**ART. 117** - To establish its Government, the People express their will through universal suffrage or, against arbitrary power, through peaceful action if possible, through armed insurrection if necessary.

**ART. 118** - Any political regime that does not leave the People, to make themselves heard, any means other than the use of weapons is tyrannical. The People have the inalienable Right to overthrow it ; all free men (« Citizens » conscious of being oppressed) have the Duty to do so.

**ART. 119** - Any Constitution which, above the legislative and executive bodies, even those composed of elected representatives, does not provide for a sovereign People's Institution and frequent referendums is a democratic farce.

**ART. 120** - There can be no true Democracy in inequality, and a

## CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX

pseudo-democracy cannot give birth to Equality. EQUALITY is not based on « democracy » ; it is Democracy that is based on EQUALITY.

### X. FATHERLAND AND PATRIOTISM

**ART. 121** - A man's Fatherland is Humanity. A Citizen's Homeland is the City. Patriotism is the gateway to universal brotherhood.

**ART. 122** - Patriotism is the love of one's own ; nationalism is the hatred of others ; ultra-internationalism is the love of others and the hatred of one's own.

**ART. 123** - A true patriot considers his compatriots, his fellow Citizens, as his equals, not as footstools or cannon fodder.

**ART. 124** - Whoever neglects, despises, exploits or tyrannizes a portion of Humanity has no Fatherland and declares himself the enemy of the human race

### XI. REVOLUTION AND REVOLUTIONARIES

**ART. 125** - A Revolution is an attempt to outlaw inequality. EQUALITY is the fundamental goal of the Revolution.

**ART. 126** - To conceive the Revolution as a permanent enterprise is to want to fight endlessly against inequality ; it is, therefore, to ignore the means of establishing Equality, thus perpetuating oppression under new colors.

**ART. 127** - In inequality, under Mony, each individual is in a struggle against all others. Classes are an optical illusion. Class struggle is a dead end.

**ART. 128** - A revolution that relies only on people to defend its conquests against other people, instead of being supported by the simple force of things, necessarily sinks into civil war and eventually into political dictatorship. This is not a Revolution.



## **PATRICIANS' MANIFESTO**

**ART. 129** - The project of destroying Money must be in the minds and adopted by the People before it can be implemented. To need to use violence to establish the civic Card would be a sign that it is not and that the time for the Revolution has not yet come.

**ART. 130** - The strength of the Revolution is in things. There are only irrevocable revolutions that are revolutionary evolutions.

**ART. 131** - All Peoples evolve at a different pace. The conditions of the Revolution cannot be met everywhere at the same time. The Revolution cannot be global, therefore, it will be local and national. Those who, for one reason or another, advocate the absurd idea of a world or universal Revolution are, consciously or unconsciously, counter-revolutionaries.

**ART. 132** - A Revolution occurs when the evolution of things and that of ideas meet. The Revolution is impossible until things and people are mature ; it is inevitable when they are mature.

**ART. 133** - Things being what they are, revolutionaries can only evolve ideas by putting at the service of the Revolution all the means that their time provides. It is difficult to fight an idea, and impossible to stop a simple and just idea.

**ART. 134** - Invisible and Unseizable like the wind, powerful and ephemeral like the storm : these must be the revolutionaries.

**ART. 135** - The Revolution is love at first sight. It consists of a historically necessary decision that, immediately implemented, changes forever and puts an end to the Revolution itself. There is no point in revolutionizing everything at the same time, we must revolutionize the essential and let time revolutionize the rest.

**ART. 136** - A revolutionary government is essential to remove the power of counterrevolutionaries and make revolutionary decisions.

**ART. 137** - The establishment of the civic Card and the annihilation of Money will take place when capitalism will be everywhere in agony, when each capitalist country will be too busy trying in vain to get out of its difficulties to have the desire

## CIVISM OR THEORY OF THE CITY - APPENDIX

and the means to fight the People who, first, will dare this Revolution.

### XII. THE PATRICIANS

**ART. 138** - The Patricians' goal is to gather and organize the true republicans into a revolutionary force capable of existing, to inspire the « Citizens » with the hatred of Mony and the love of Equality, to promote the idea of a civic card, to develop the theory of Civism and, ultimately, to democratically and temporarily achieve power to open the era of Humanity.

**ART. 139** - Anyone who embraces this Manifesto is a Patrician and one of Civism's champions.

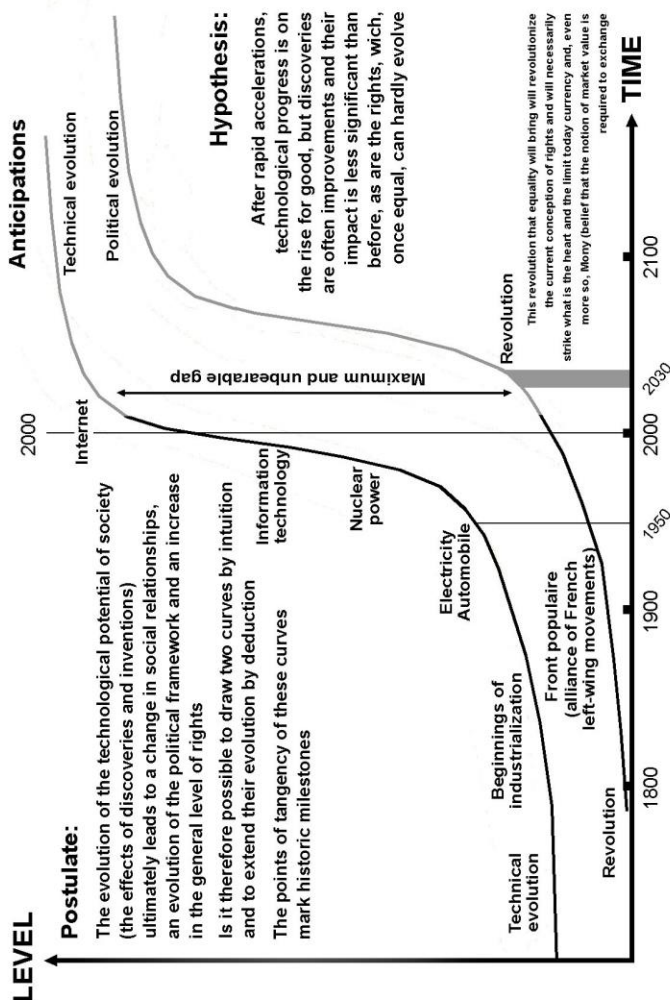
**ART. 140** - The work of the Patricians will be completed and their mission accomplished when the civic Card and equality are a reality.

**YOU WANT THE UNTHINKABLE ?**

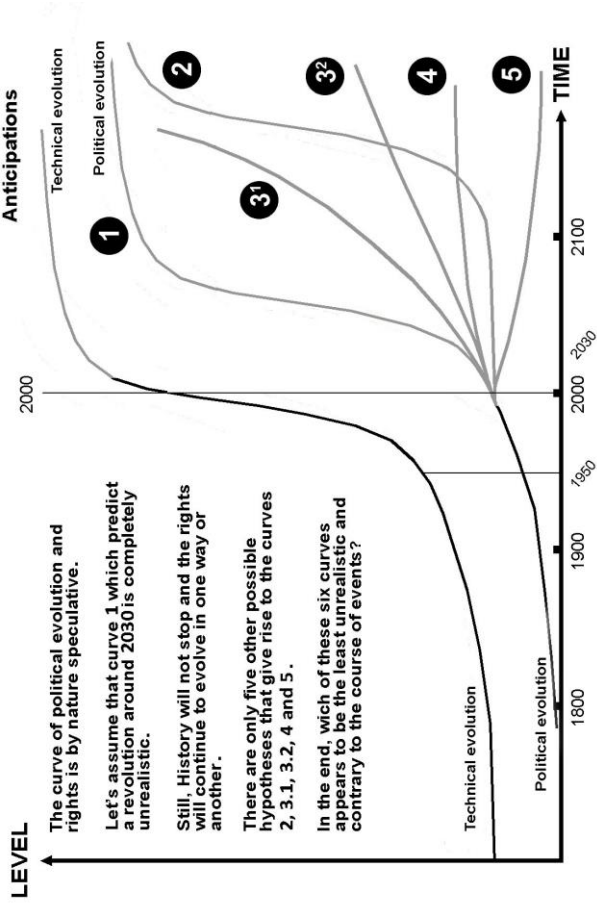
**YOU ARE NO LONGER ALONE !**



# CURVES OF TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL EVOLUTIONS



## WHAT IF IT'S NOT TRUE?



The curve of political evolution and rights is by nature speculative.

Let's assume that curve 1 which predict a revolution around 2030 is completely unrealistic.

Still, History will not stop and the rights will continue to evolve in one way or another.

There are only five other possible hypotheses that give rise to the curves 2, 3.1, 3.2, 4 and 5.

In the end, wich of these six curves appears to be the least unrealistic and contrary to the course of events?

Rights stopped growing in the 1990s. Since then, we have even seen a regression. But a curve always indicates the general trend whereas reality evolves in a series of ups and downs.

- 1 The evolution of rights follows the growing trend of the previous two centuries, but suddenly accelerates as if to respond to the prodigious technological evolution of the 20th century. The two curves have the same look, but not at the same time. This curve confirms the original assumption.
- 2 The evolution of rights happens in the blink of an eye, but later than expected, which means that rights are at a standstill in the meantime. The two curves no longer look the same. The gap between them, which is unprecedented and already unbearable, is getting longer and wider. The force of things is as if asleep and the postulate is partly false.
- 3.1 Rights continue to grow steadily (3. 1 and 3. 2 with different coefficients)  
3.2 but without any link to the context or a revolution, and therefore without reason. Equality is just a matter of time and will be achieved in the monetary system out of thin air.
- 4 Despite technical developments, the stagnation of rights that can be seen today continues indefinitely. The technological revolution does not lead to a political revolution. People suffer in silence and forever from increasing inequality. The assumption confirmed by centuries is completely wrong according to this hypothesis.
- 5 Despite technical developments, rights are no longer evolving and are instead beginning to regress. History is turning back. The technical and political developments that until now seemed to go hand in hand are moving in opposite directions in the future according to this hypothesis.



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